

3. *The Settlers*

HOMELANDS

THE MOMENT IMMIGRANTS BOARDED THE ship to come to New Zealand, there was a subtle change in their identity. At home they had thought of themselves as inhabitants of Paisley, or Belfast, or from the counties of York or Kent. But on the boat larger groupings became more significant, and shipboard journals talk about the 'rowdy Irish' or the 'careful Scots' in steerage, or the 'English gentleman' in cabin class. National groupings and identities rose to the surface. So the first question to explore is the largest unit of analysis – country of origin. To what extent were those who settled New Zealand from the British Isles a fair representation of the national groupings at home? Was New Zealand's self-perception as 'more English than the English' an accurate description of the settlers?

Some answers can be found in Tables 1 and 2, which summarise our major findings – Table 1 from the sample derived from the death registers, and Table 2 including information from all sources. The figures should be compared with Tables 3 and 4, which give the relevant census information for the United Kingdom and New Zealand. The graph shows the distribution of country of origin for each year of arrival, again based on the death register database. Not unexpectedly, the figures for each period hide the considerable variation of flows within those periods.

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TABLE 1. NATIONAL COMPOSITION OF UNITED KINGDOM IMMIGRANTS TO NEW ZEALAND (PERCENTAGES)

	1800-39	1840-52	1853-70	1871-90	1891-1915	1916-45
England	62.1	64.3	46.6	54.6	65.0	60.1
Wales	1.6	1.1	1.1	0.8	1.1	2.1
Scotland	20.4	20.6	30.2	21.5	22.2	28.7
Ireland	15.6	13.5	21.4	21.7	10.9	8.6
Isles	0.3	0.5	0.7	1.3	0.9	0.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	314	1061	2464	3446	2109	2571

Source: Death registers

TABLE 2. NATIONAL COMPOSITION OF UNITED KINGDOM IMMIGRANTS TO NEW ZEALAND (PERCENTAGES)¹

	England	Wales	Scotland	Ireland
1800-39	62.1	1.6	20.4	15.6
1840-52	64.3	1.1	20.6	13.5
Auckland	45.3	0.8	17.6	35.9
NZ Company	80.3	1.1	15.0	1.7
Discharged soldiers	42.8	0.2	2.6	54.4
1851 New Ulster census	58.8	0.4	13.0	27.8
1853-70	46.6	1.1	30.2	21.4
Discharged soldiers	40.2	0.4	2.6	56.8
Auckland	52.9	0.4	17.8	27.8
Canterbury assisted	56.6	1.4	19.9	22.1
Otago miners	36.6	1.7	30.1	31.6
Westland miners	28.0	3.8	19.3	47.9
1871-90	54.6	0.8	21.5	21.7
Assisted	53.7 (incl. Welsh)		18.4	27.9
1891-1915	65.0	1.1	22.2	10.9
1916-45	60.1	2.1	28.7	8.6

Sources: Death registers, Register of Emigrant Labourers, passenger lists

TABLE 3. DISTRIBUTION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM POPULATION WITHIN THE UK (PERCENTAGES)

Living in	1841	1851	1861	1871	1901	1921
England	55.4	61.0	62.7	65.3	72.2	74.5
Wales	3.9	4.2	4.0	4.5	4.8	5.6
Scotland	9.8	10.5	10.3	10.5	10.8	10.3
Ireland	30.4	23.8	22.6	19.2	12.1	9.2
Isles	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.3

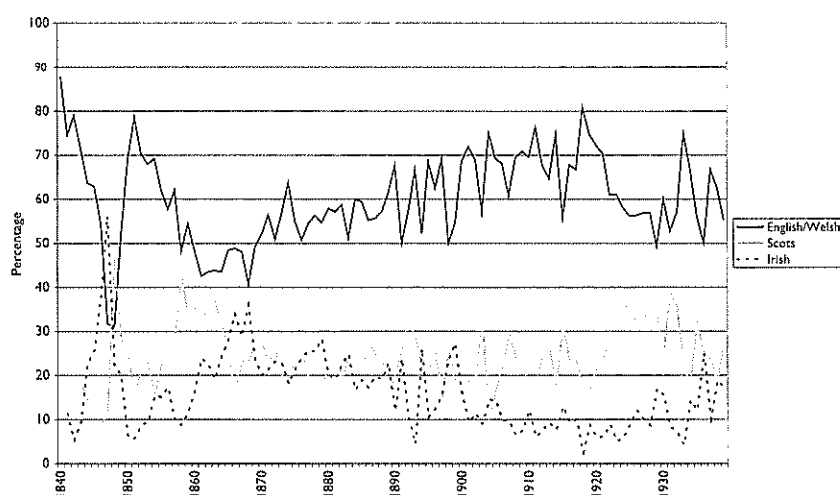
Source: UK census

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TABLE 4. DISTRIBUTION OF UNITED KINGDOM-BORN MIGRANTS IN NEW ZEALAND (PERCENTAGES OF ALL UK-BORN IMMIGRANTS)

Born in	1861	1871	1891	1911	1945
England	59.3	49.7	53.5	58.5	63.3
Wales	0.7	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.2
Scotland	25.5	27.3	23.7	22.6	24.2
Northern Ireland					5.0
Ireland	14.5	22.0	21.8	17.9	5.3

Source: *New Zealand census*



Source: *Death registers*

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF IMMIGRANTS TO NEW ZEALAND FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM, 1840-1939, BY YEAR

The first significant point to note is that New Zealand received very few immigrants who had been born in Wales. From the mid-nineteenth century the Welsh comprised at least 4 per cent of the population of the United Kingdom, rising to over 5.5 per cent by 1921. Yet not until the twentieth century did the Welsh comprise 2 per cent of New Zealand's immigrants from the UK, and during the great period of migration to New Zealand from 1853 to the Great War, the number of Welsh migrants equated to less than a quarter of their representation in the British Isles. The Welsh did include an interesting range of people who often brought traditions from home. At the end of the nineteenth century there was Henry Pheloung, who brought his musical prowess

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to Oamaru as a bandsman, and was known as the cornet player with the 'rubber lip'. George Manning, for ten years (1958-68) the popular mayor of Christchurch, brought his non-Conformist Christianity and his commitment to the labour movement.

Yet at no time did the Welsh ever come in any numbers or in any organised groups. We can only speculate about why this was so. The small numbers were certainly not because the Welsh were averse to migration in general. They moved in considerable numbers to other places, such as the United States and Canada.² Perhaps it was because the more industrial nature of south Wales, the origin of many Welsh emigrants generally, did not attract recruiters from the New Zealand Company, the provinces or the New Zealand government, all of whom consistently looked for people with a farming or craft background and all of whom ignored Wales. Perhaps it was because the tradition of moving across the Atlantic was so strong that it was difficult for the New Zealand option to become established. The numbers of Welsh who went to Australia were also low, so we received few Welsh from that source.³

Perhaps it was because the ports from which New Zealand boats departed were very rarely Liverpool or Bristol, the ports closest to Wales. For a Welsh person to catch a boat to New Zealand would probably have required them to make the long journey to London. Yet, as we shall see, this did not stop other groups from the far corners of the United Kingdom, especially if they came as assisted migrants, which meant their internal journey was also paid for. For whatever reason, despite the close links New Zealanders have had with Wales through their shared national game of rugby, New Zealanders do not have a great deal of Welsh blood in their veins.

The Scots' story is very different. Throughout the nineteenth century people living in Scotland consistently comprised only about one in ten of the UK population. Yet from 1840 on, the Scots represented more than one in five UK immigrants to New Zealand, and in both the 1860s and the 1920s the proportion was close to one in three. By 1891 about a quarter of the UK-born population of New Zealand was from Scotland. In other words, New Zealand was well over twice as Scottish as the homeland.

Of course the Scots migration to Otago is well-known and highly mythologised in the names of the capital (Dunedin) and the local

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Mary Jane Lewis came to New Zealand from Monmouthshire in Wales with her brother in 1870. She met and married a Scotsman, Charles Innes, who was a brewer but not good with money. In fact he became bankrupt twice. Mary, however, had business skills. In 1888 she took over management of the Te Awamutu Brewery, followed soon after by the Waikato Brewery. From 1900 the company she had created, C. L. Innes and Company, traded successfully in the brewery business for over 60 years. 8975, WAIKATO MUSEUM OF ART AND HISTORY

rugby team (the Highlanders), for example, yet Scots were to be found throughout New Zealand. Nor did their large representation simply reflect a Scottish propensity to leave home. Certainly Scots moved in their thousands to other places such as Canada, Australia and the United States. Yet they moved to New Zealand in unusually large numbers. For example, while the Scots consistently made up over 20 per cent of New Zealand's UK-born settlers, in Australia the figure was never more than about 15 per cent.⁴ In certain periods such as 1860-63 (years for which we have emigrant figures) New Zealand was the chosen destination for about a third of those leaving Scotland, which made it the most popular destination of all for Scots emigrants at that time.

Why did New Zealand have such appeal for Scots? It started early. Even before annexation in 1840 a fifth of those in our sample were Scots, with seamen well represented. Particular flows set up patterns.

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We began our story with the 500 migrants who came from Paisley, near Glasgow, to Auckland in 1842. Once the Otago Association had been formed in Edinburgh there was a major recruiting of Scots for the Edinburgh of the South in the late 1840s. From that time on Otago and Southland were particular magnets for Scots. But even before the Otago settlement began, those from north of the border were considered desirable. The New Zealand Company had agents in Scotland who recruited successfully there. As early as February 1840, only weeks after the first arrivals, the *Bengal Merchant* arrived in Wellington from the Clyde with 160 passengers, mostly drawn from Glasgow. They included the Reverend John Macfarlane, who was the first in New Zealand to proclaim the gospel in Gaelic.⁵ A year later Wellington received a 'Scots ship', as the *Blenheim* was known, when it brought 197 passengers under the leadership of laird Donald McDonald. Many of these people came from his own or neighbouring clans in Inverness, while the Lowlanders were also from Paisley. The party settled in what was known as 'the Scotch settlement' at Kaiwharawhara.⁶ Of those recruited by the New Zealand Company to the Wellington, Nelson, Taranaki and Wanganui settlements, some 15 per cent were Scots. In the 1848 census of New Munster (Wellington and the South Island), 16.8 per cent of Wellington's British-born were Scots.

The New Zealand Company helped establish the view among the largely Protestant and English elite who initially controlled New Zealand politics that the Scots were the kind of immigrants this country wanted. Despite the occasional jokes from Englishmen such as Alexander Majoribanks that Scotsmen hastened to New Zealand principally out of a sense of duty, to relieve the first settlers of every sixpence they legitimately could, most opinion-makers in New Zealand regarded the Scots as highly desirable.⁷ They were Protestant, considered hard-working and moral, and despite Scotland's industrialisation many of those available were from an agricultural background, often quite close to Glasgow or Edinburgh. The Highland clearances had encouraged Scots with agricultural origins to move to the Lowlands. So as New Zealand provincial governments, and later the central government, established schemes of migration assistance, they were happy to see their agents going north to Scotland and recruiting, especially in the periphery of the cities.

Of those who were given assisted passages by Canterbury province in the 1850s and 1860s almost 20 per cent were from Scotland. Even in Auckland more than one in six of those who came in during those years were Scots, numbers boosted by the special settlement of Highlanders at Waipu in Northland. By the time the New Zealand government set out to attract immigrants in 1871 the Scots were clearly seen to be a desirable group, more so than the Irish, and agents were sent in numbers to the north. By October 1872 no fewer than 73 of the 116 agents appointed were in Scotland.⁸ In all, 18.4 per cent of those given assisted passages by the New Zealand government were from Scotland, and the Scots were even better represented among the later schemes of assistance, probably making up well over a quarter of those assisted in the 1920s.

So the Scots came in large numbers partly because they were wanted, and once they had arrived traditions of migration became established. Many others came as paying migrants. In particular the Scots were exceptionally well-represented among those who were drawn to New Zealand by the lure of gold. Almost one in three of Otago's immigrant goldminers had been born in Scotland. Many of these miners had migrated via the Victorian goldfields – some 19 per cent of those who were recorded as arriving either in Otago or on the West Coast from Victoria during the gold rushes had been born in Scotland.⁹ They included Charles McQueen, son of a Renfrew fender-maker who followed a fairly typical path, emigrating from Scotland to Victoria in about 1859, then on to Dunedin in 1862 or 1863. McQueen became one of the pioneers of gold-dredging on the Clutha before eventually returning to Victoria when the dredging boom collapsed.¹⁰ Numbers of Scots also came direct from the old country during the gold years, presumably attracted by news from compatriots on the other side of the globe. One of these was 'Big John Ewing', who arrived direct in 1863 and established a highly successful mining operation at St Bathans, and a fine reputation, despite occasional hiccups such as his imprisonment for four months for shooting a Chinese miner and a period of bankruptcy.¹¹

The one form of migration in which the Scots were poorly represented was that associated with the military. Only 2.6 per cent of the soldiers discharged from Imperial forces in the 1840s and again in the

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George Fairweather Moonlight originally came from Glenbervie in northeast Scotland. He left there in 1848 to join the Californian gold rush, before heading to Australia and on to Otago in 1861.

As a miner he had the distinction of giving his name to two creeks, both sites of successful strikes, one on a tributary of the Shotover in Otago and one on a tributary of the Grey River on the West Coast. For a time he was a publican, but he died in 1884 while out prospecting.

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1860s came from Scotland, and few fiancées or wives from Scotland arrived after the Great War. However, as unemployment hit Scottish industry in the 1920s the numbers coming to New Zealand, as to Australia, rose. How many of these were following relatives who had come out in the 50 years before it is difficult to know.

Circumstances of war apart, the Scots were consistent and hugely significant immigrants. And it is the combination of an early and sustained reputation as desirable Protestant types, together with patterns of chain migration, that probably explains why they make up such a disproportionate number of New Zealand's founding British.

The factors that made the Scots so desirable in New Zealand also help to explain why the Irish were not favoured migrants. Apart from those in the north the Irish were predominantly Catholic, and vestiges of

anti-Catholicism remained in colonial New Zealand. True, the Irish were overwhelmingly of a rural background, which is what promoters of migration to New Zealand wanted. But both among the respectable organisers of the Wakefield settlements and among the largely English-born community that dominated New Zealand provincial governments, the Irish were considered to be poor unlettered peasants likely to be unreliable workers, with few skills and a propensity to drink.

H. F. Alston, the New Zealand Company's superintendent of emigration, wrote to an agent in Dundee that a number of the people he had recruited had been turned down because 'Irishmen are not considered desirable emigrants'.¹² Later, Canterbury province's emigration agent John Marshman was advised that 'Irish emigrants should be refused altogether'.¹³ So in the early years of migration antagonism towards the Irish was clearly present. At first few came on assisted passages. It was also true that there were few boats that came direct to New Zealand from Ireland, which meant the added expense of a trip to London or Glasgow was required before setting out. Indeed, before 1864 not a single ship (with the exception of a couple carrying soldiers) began its voyage to New Zealand from an Irish port.¹⁴ In 1874, when four ships left from Ireland and free passages were available, the numbers of Irish rose significantly.

The Irish, like the Scots, were quite willing to move overseas. In the 70 years after the devastating famine of the late 1840s over five million people (equal to those remaining in Ireland) streamed away from their native land, with about four million going to the new worlds of America and Australasia. But compared with those going to Canada or Australia the numbers coming to New Zealand were small. In Australia some 30 per cent of the nineteenth-century migrants from the UK came from Ireland, and they made up a quarter of all overseas-born;¹⁵ in New Zealand only in the 1870s and 1880s did the proportion of UK immigrants from Ireland reach 22 per cent.

In 1861, in the immediate aftermath of the Great Famine, only 14.5 per cent of New Zealand's UK-born were from Ireland, despite the fact that the Irish had been almost one-third of the UK population in 1841, and were still over one-fifth in 1861. The number of Irish was especially low among those assisted by the New Zealand Company in

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the 1840s, when the famine emigration was at its height. Only 1.7 per cent of company-assisted passengers came from Ireland. Admittedly there were a few people of Irish origins among the leaders of organised settlement in those years, such as Edward Stafford in Nelson and John Robert Godley in Canterbury, but these were men from a Protestant Anglo-Irish background. As members of the Protestant Ascendancy they may have seen their situation weakened at home by Catholic emancipation and the emergence of Irish nationalism. Few of their compatriots joined them. In 1848 the province of New Munster had a mere 175 Irish-born inhabitants.

Despite this lack of assistance the Irish did make it to New Zealand. They came, at least until the 1860s, largely under their own steam, and they came to Auckland. In 1851, in contrast to the situation in New Munster, 2871 (almost a third) of Auckland's population of 8840 were of Irish background, and of British Isles immigrants into Auckland during these years almost 36 per cent were of Irish birth. Few had come direct from the homeland. Most had come via Australia. Men of an Irish background, many coming out of the convict community of Sydney, were to be found among the early gangs of traders, whalers and sealers. They included such settlers as Jacky Marmon, a Pakeha Maori who was the son of an Irish convict, and Dublin-born Frederick Maning, who later became a trader and author.

Almost 16 per cent of those in our sample before 1840 were of Irish birth. In the 1840s the numbers of Irish coming across the Tasman to Auckland grew. Some, like Patrick Donovan, had come as far as Australia and then seen opportunities in the Auckland area. Donovan had been born in County Cork, married, and come out to Van Diemen's Land in 1837 before moving to Port Phillip (Melbourne) as a harness-maker. Realising that the Treaty of Waitangi and the activities of the New Zealand Company would increase the value of New Zealand land, he came to Auckland and bought land in Shortland Street in 1840. There he built an inn with a large taproom to which he gave the ecumenical name 'Shamrock, Rose and Thistle'. By the time he died in 1898 Patrick Donovan owned 780 acres of land and a number of racehorses, and was known for his parties, his generosity, his support of the Catholic church and his gambling.¹⁶

The 1840s also saw significant numbers of Irish ex-soldiers settling

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in Auckland. Some of these were men who were discharged from British regiments brought to New Zealand in 1845-46. Over half of the soldiers given release in New Zealand during these years were Irish. Others came with the Royal New Zealand Fencibles, the majority of whom were Irish, who were settled with their wives and children to provide protection for the area south of Auckland town in 1847. In the graph showing the country of origin of UK immigrants (page 53) there is a striking spike in Irish representation in the mid-1840s. Over a third of those from our sample of Auckland death registers in that decade were Irish-born.

In the 1860s dreams of gold once again brought the Irish to New Zealand without assistance, first to Otago, where they comprised almost a third of the miners born in the UK, and then more dramatically to the West Coast. Some 48 per cent of the Coast's miners in our sample had been born in the Emerald Isle. A large number were Catholic, an equally high number were male, and many had moved on from the Victorian goldfields across the Tasman. Martin Kennedy was a typical example. Born in County Tipperary in about 1840, he migrated to Victoria in 1860 to try his luck on the diggings. Hearing of the gold discoveries in Otago, he sailed to Bluff, then set himself up as a merchant in Queenstown. In 1868 he followed the miners to the West Coast, where he became a leading owner of coal mines and shipping interests. Later he moved on to Wellington, becoming a director of the Bank of New Zealand and a leading member of the settlement's Catholic community.¹⁷

Auckland province also attracted the Irish in the 1860s, and once more they included discharged soldiers from regiments that had been brought out to fight in the New Zealand Wars (56.8 per cent of the discharged soldiers were Irish by birth). Some 1500, mainly Ulster Protestants, were brought to the area around Pukekohe as part of the Waikato Immigration Scheme to provide a buffer between Auckland and the Kingite Maori further south. They were joined by about 500 Irish who came after a sojourn in South Africa.¹⁸

Even in Anglican Canterbury the Irish began to appear. Despite Canterbury's emigration agent, John Marshman, being instructed to avoid the Irish, some 22 per cent of the immigrants assisted by the province were from Ireland. This was in part because the Canterbury

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Ann Gleeson, the daughter of a reasonably well-off farmer in County Limerick, came to Melbourne in 1858 with her cousin Johanna Shanahan and friend Mary Maloney. She married a stonemason from Belfast, Patrick Diamond, who brought the family across the Tasman and joined the Gabriel's Gully gold rush. In 1865 they followed the gold once more to the West Coast, and still with Johanna and Mary's help, Ann set up Diamond's Hotel at Red Jacks. With a concert hall and billiard room, the hotel became the social centre of this isolated mining community.

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agents decided to seek domestic servants and married couples among the Protestant population of Ulster;¹⁹ about 60 per cent of Canterbury's assisted Irish immigrants came from Ulster. Even more significantly, the Irish came out because they were nominated for assisted passages by family members already in Canterbury. Indeed, of those assisted to Canterbury in the years 1863-67, 59 per cent had been nominated rather than recruited by agents (as compared with 23 per cent of all assisted migrants).²⁰ One of these was Ellen Silke, the daughter of small landholders in County Galway. At the age of twelve she was seen by John Crowe, who managed to persuade her father to promise her hand in marriage. John migrated to New Zealand, and about eight years later he presumably nominated Ellen, who received a free passage

from Canterbury province as a domestic servant. The pair later married and moved to join the Irish Catholic community in Southland.²¹ In all, for the period 1853–70 Irish people comprised 21.4 per cent of New Zealand immigrants from the UK, which was not very different from the percentage of Irish in the UK population as a whole – 22.6 per cent in the census of 1861. The numbers of Irish coming to New Zealand continued to rise during the great migration of the 1870s. In fact, between 1871 and 1890 the Irish outnumbered the previously preferred Scots, comprising 21.7 per cent of immigrants from the British Isles. They were especially well-represented among those given assisted passages (27.9 per cent). This was not because they had suddenly become a favoured group – indeed, there was considerable controversy in the early 1870s about the government's alleged bias against the Irish. Certainly in October 1872 only eight (of 116) recruiting sub-agents were based in Ireland. Of 124 advertisements for immigrants, only 15 had been placed in Irish newspapers, and then only around Belfast and Londonderry in the more Protestant area of Ulster.²²

There were two reasons for the numbers of assisted Irish. First, those who had come in the 1860s, many of them attracted by gold, now nominated their relatives for assisted passages. Ellen Crowe, for example, nominated her young sister Mary in 1871, followed by her widowed mother and her three brothers in 1874, and a fourth brother in 1876. The second reason was that New Zealand immigration agents, following the lead of those who had worked for Canterbury province, appear to have begun to target the Protestants of the north as distinct from the Catholics of the south. They saw Ulster as a source of the hard-working Protestants it was believed New Zealand needed, and the area continued to be regarded as an especially good place in which to recruit reliable domestic servants. During the 1870s more Irish women than men came to New Zealand, a distinct reversal from the previous period.

But the Irish newcomers during these years were not just domestics. Families, especially Protestants, were also given assistance. John Chambers and his wife Ellen were living in County Armagh, not far from Portadown, on just over an acre of land. Their earnings were supplemented by weaving, but as factory production developed, this became an unreliable source of income. They decided to come out to

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New Zealand with their five children as assisted migrants. After landing in Wellington they followed friends to the Ellesmere district outside Christchurch. John, who was illiterate, bought land, farmed and worked on the roads. But life was not easy. Two daughters died of diphtheria, and in 1908 John hanged himself in his stable. Ellen, a stalwart member of the Leeston Methodist Church, lived on until 1919.²³

The majority of Irish immigrants during the 1870s and early 1880s who came to New Zealand direct travelled by ship from Glasgow or London. Two groups boarded their ships in Ireland. In response to the accusations of anti-Irish prejudice, New Zealand's agent-general, Isaac Featherston, had appointed Mrs Caroline Howard as an immigration agent. She proceeded to recruit young women from a workhouse in Cork, and they reached Dunedin aboard the *Asia* in mid-1874. Their arrival provoked an outcry about this importation of 'certified scum', but Mrs Howard was able to arrange for two further sailings before she was dismissed.²⁴ The second group of vessels that sailed direct from Ireland carried a more acceptable group of passengers. These were the Protestant families from Ulster who came in 1875 and 1878 to Katikati in the Bay of Plenty as part of George Vesey Stewart's special settlement.

From the 1880s the numbers of Irish began to fall. Between 1891 and the Great War they comprised about one in ten of UK immigrants, and between the wars the proportion of Irish declined even further. Moreover, those who did take the long journey from Ireland were overwhelmingly from Ulster. This was partly because from 1921 southern Ireland was no longer part of the United Kingdom, but even more, it was because New Zealanders had increasingly learnt the important distinction between Ulster Protestants and southern Catholics. The former remained welcome in New Zealand, the latter rather less so.

The story of Irish migration, then, is very different from that of the Scots. Their numbers were surprisingly low in the early and later periods of migration to New Zealand, proportionately far fewer than to Australia. The 1860s and 1870s were decades of significant Irish influx, in large part explained by the discovery of gold, the exigencies of war, and the desire of the Irish community to bring out their relatives. After that the flow declined; and it was only because New Zealanders began to focus their recruitment on the Protestant north that it continued at all.

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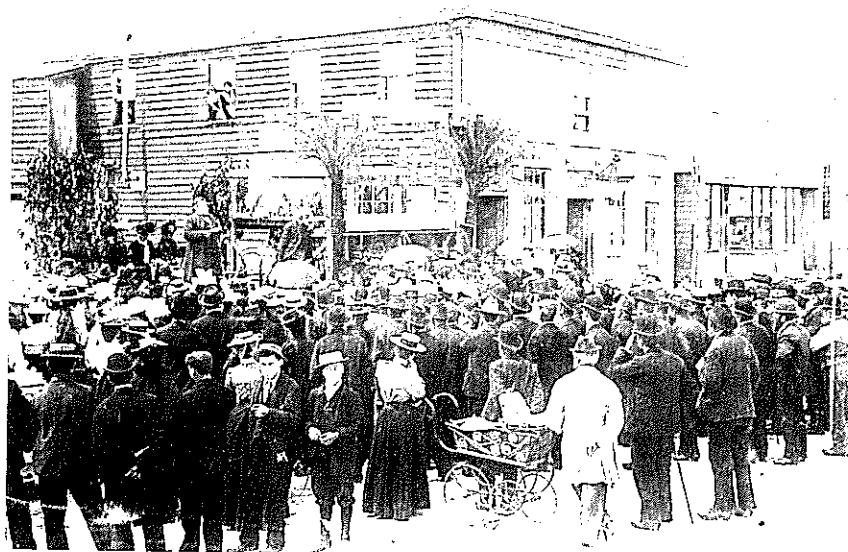
Harriet Ritchie came to Canterbury as an assisted migrant with her husband, a blacksmith, and her daughter in 1850 on one of the 'first four ships'. Her husband went off to the Australian goldfields and was not heard of again. To support herself Harriet became matron of Lyttelton Hospital. When Maria Rye, founder of the Female Middle Class Emigration Society, visited in 1863 and spoke of the need for a registry for domestic servants, Harriet became matron of the Christchurch Female Home which provided a registry and accommodation for servants. However, as immigration agents knew well, there was such a demand for servants that turnover was rapid and applications exceeded supply.

CANTERBURY MUSEUM

Finally, let us look at the English. Given that New Zealand has long had a reputation as the 'most English' of Britain's colonies, and that the English were consistently the largest group in the United Kingdom population, it is hardly surprising that they constituted the highest proportion of New Zealand's immigrants. Until 1852 the English were better represented among white people in New Zealand than among the British Isles population as a whole.

Again not surprisingly, four out of five immigrants assisted by the New Zealand Company came from England. The company was based in England, was run by Englishmen, and its head office was in London. The company did not subsidise travel to the port of departure, and 50 of the 65 ships it chartered left from London or nearby Gravesend. English investors in company land often encouraged their employees to emigrate. A. G. Tollemache, the proprietor of Ham House in Surrey, purchased 34 sections in Wellington. In May 1841 the *Lord William*

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Richard Seddon, shown here addressing a crowd in his home-town of Kumara in 1877 at the start of his political career, was not a typical English immigrant of the 1860s. He came from the north of England (from St Helens in Lancashire); he had worked previously in an industrial occupation (in the iron workshops), and he arrived in 1866 on the West Coast, a community where the English were a minority among large numbers of Scots and Irish. Yet he was typical in coming to the goldfields after a period on the Victorian diggings. In his later political career as premier, from 1893 to his death in 1906, he was always conscious of those like himself who had migrated from Britain and Ireland. In his provision of old-age pensions, for example, he was determined to ensure that those who had come out in the 1860s and 1870s would live a comfortable old age in 'God's own country'. 1/2-044653-F, ALEXANDER

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Bentinck arrived there with four married couples, seventeen children and one single man from his estate.²⁵ Auckland was a bit different. The English comprised fewer than half of that province's migrants in the years 1840-52, as Irish in particular came across from Australia.

Things changed during the 1850s and 1860s. The English did not stop coming, of course, for in absolute numbers there was a large influx of English people, especially during the 1860s. But as the proportions of Scots and Irish rose, so that of the English fell. Between 1853 and 1870 fewer than half of New Zealand's UK immigrants came from England, and in fact the English were some 18 per cent under-represented in

comparison with the population at home. The English were especially few in number among the goldmining communities (making up well under a third of Westland's miners) and among the discharged soldiers. Even Canterbury, 'more English than the English', only gave about half its assisted passages to English migrants, while the numbers of English settling in Auckland remained comparatively low.

The establishment of the central government's assistance schemes did not change things dramatically. Although the English were by far the largest national group they constituted only about half the assisted migrants, and during the 1870s and 1880s the proportion from England (54.6 per cent) was over 10 per cent less than the proportion of English in the UK population. Britain and Ireland as a whole were far more English than New Zealand for most of the nineteenth century. From the 1890s the numbers of English migrants revived proportionately as those from Ireland fell, but right through until the Second World War the percentage of English among New Zealand's immigrants was surprisingly low.

The conclusion that New Zealand's founding immigrant stock is less English than might be expected deserves some discussion. It was not that the English were considered undesirable types by New Zealand immigration authorities – far from it. It probably had rather more to do with conditions at home. Compared with the Irish and the Scots the English were less inclined to leave their homelands in the nineteenth century. Australia, too, had relatively few English migrants. This was partly because England was more prosperous and offered more economic opportunities than Scotland or Ireland. Internal migration was a less drastic route out of poverty than four months of seasickness en route to the other side of the world. The first place the English would move to if things became tough was Manchester or London, where there were jobs to be had, and of course many Scots and Irish also moved to England because it offered jobs or better wages.

The comparatively low representation of the English is even more apparent if we subtract from the English population those who derived from the 'Celtic fringe' of the southwest, especially Cornwall. For much of the nineteenth century that area sent large numbers of migrants to New Zealand, many of whom were rather different from 'Home Counties' English. They descended from the Celts who had

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been pushed west during earlier invasions of England. They had their own distinct traditions, and a language that was a form of Gaelic, very similar to the language traditionally spoken in Ireland and Scotland. If to the Scots and the Irish we add the 5 to 10 per cent who came from the far southwest, it can be argued that the Celtic fringes of the British Isles provided at least half, if not a clear majority, of those who migrated from the UK to New Zealand in the nineteenth century. In that sense New Zealand's founding Pakeha population is very far from being 'more English than the English'. A high proportion of us in fact have Celtic blood in our veins.

ELIZABETH AND JOHN: THE ENGLISH

Country of origin is a crude measure for explaining the cultural mix of New Zealand's immigrants. Countries are administrative units. They do not tell us about the mix of cultural traditions that came in the baggage of New Zealand's immigrants. It is time to go beneath the country and look at issues of region, occupation and religion. Let us begin digging deeper among the largest single group of immigrants, the English.

Table 5 shows the regions of birth of immigrants to New Zealand from England and Wales as revealed in the death register sample (Wales is included in the English tables because of the small numbers of Welsh immigrants). The regions are a grouping of counties that have been clustered in similar analyses elsewhere;¹⁶ they are as shown on Map 1 (p. viii).

Apart from the consistently low representation from Wales, two significant facts are apparent. First, throughout the nineteenth century three areas of England were especially important in sending people to New Zealand: London and Middlesex; the so-called 'Home Counties' of the southeast (those which border London – Kent, Sussex, Surrey and Hampshire); and the counties of the southwest. This concentration began very early. Even before 1840 over 72 per cent of the immigrants in our sample, which is admittedly small, came from these three areas. In the first major wave of the 1840s almost six out of ten had been born there, and until the end of the nineteenth century these areas constituted almost half of the birthplaces of New Zealand's English settlers.

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TABLE 5. REGIONS OF BIRTH OF ENGLISH AND WELSH IMMIGRANTS (PERCENTAGES)

Born in	Pre-1840	1840-52	1853-70	1871-90	1891-1915	1916-45
London/ Middlesex	28.6	14.8	17.3	16.8	19.5	21.3
Southeast	18.4	21.5	13.0	13.8	11.2	11.8
East	6.1	7.1	7.6	7.0	6.1	7.0
Southwest	25.5	22.8	15.9	17.8	10.0	6.3
Midlands						
East	3.1	3.1	6.2	3.4	4.6	4.4
Central	2.0	5.8	5.4	6.2	5.5	5.0
West	1.0	4.9	5.4	6.3	4.1	2.8
South	2.0	4.6	3.5	6.0	3.0	2.2
Yorkshire	6.1	5.8	8.5	6.6	11.2	9.4
Lancs-Cheshire	2.0	5.2	8.4	7.3	14.6	16.8
Northeast	3.1	1.2	3.4	4.0	4.9	7.7
Northwest	0.0	1.5	2.2	1.2	1.9	1.5
Offshore islands	0.0	0.7	1.6	2.4	1.4	0.8
North Wales	1.0	0.6	0.5	0.5	1.1	0.6
South Wales	1.0	0.4	1.1	0.7	0.7	2.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not stated	28	25	35	76	73	54
Number	126	698	1192	1956	1411	1612

Source: Death registers

It is true that these areas had large populations, and so were likely to be represented well among New Zealand's English. But their strong representation was not simply a reflection of the numbers of people living there. Table 6 shows a regional representation index for each area – that is, the proportion of immigrants to New Zealand born there relative to the number of people born in the area according to the relevant census. Areas with figures over 100 suggests they were over-represented among New Zealand's immigrants.

If anything, these figures highlight the particular importance of London/Middlesex, the southeast and the southwest even more strongly than those in Table 5. These three regions all have figures significantly over 100 for every period of migration up to 1915. Of the other regions, only the northwest and the offshore islands (the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands), both of which had small populations, are over-represented in more than one period. So a disproportionate number of people from three key regions came to New Zealand, and they did so

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throughout the whole period of migration up to 1945, despite the very different character of the flows at different points in time.

TABLE 6. REGIONAL REPRESENTATION INDICES FOR ENGLISH AND WELSH IMMIGRANTS

Born in	1840-52	1853-70	1871-90	1891-1915	1916-45
London/Middlesex	151	197	179	119	141
Southeast	193	118	122	121	141
East	68	70	67	75	79
Southwest	209	150	180	171	95
Midlands					
East	53	101	58	80	73
Central	102	87	95	83	70
West	77	84	103	88	55
South	99	73	130	93	59
Yorkshire	58	81	62	102	86
Lancs-Cheshire	40	66	55	91	114
Northeast	33	87	98	89	140
Northwest	104	147	86	186	136
North Wales	17	14	15	63	26
South Wales	14	38	23	17	56
Offshore islands	91	266	400	311	800

Sources: Death registers, Census of England and Wales

Nor was this pattern simply a reflection of a general tendency to migrate overseas from those areas. It is true that London/Middlesex, the southeast and the southwest did send large numbers of people to other countries besides New Zealand – to Australia especially, and to the United States and Canada. But those countries also received large numbers from other areas, especially the Midlands and the north.²⁷ New Zealand was unusual in attracting such a high proportion of its settlers from these three areas alone. They were unusually 'New Zealand-prone'.

Within these areas, certain counties seem to have been especially likely to send people to New Zealand, as can be seen in Table 7. In the southeast, Kent was the home of a large number of migrants – over 10 per cent of settlers in the 1840s. In the southwest, Cornwall and Devon were very significant. London was always important. However, the extent of clustering in the principal counties diminished somewhat over the nineteenth century. In the 1840s, 62.5 per cent came from

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counties contributing more than 4 per cent of the whole, but the figure dropped to 49.2 per cent for the 1891-1915 period.

TABLE 7. COUNTIES OF BIRTH OF ENGLISH AND WELSH IMMIGRANTS (PERCENTAGES)

Regions/counties	1840-52	1853-70	1871-90	1891-1915	1916-45
London/Middlesex					
London	14.2	16.1	15.4	17.6	19.6
Middlesex	0.6	1.2	1.3	2.0	1.7
Southeast					
Hampshire	5.2	3.7	3.4	2.0	3.3
Kent	10.7	5.6	6.3	4.6	4.1
Surrey	2.5	1.9	1.9	2.6	2.6
Sussex	3.1	1.6	2.3	2.2	1.9
East					
Cambridgeshire	0.4	0.9	0.6	0.7	0.9
Essex	2.1	2.3	1.4	1.9	2.4
Huntingdonshire		0.1	-	0.1	0.2
Lincolnshire	0.7	1.3	2.6	1.8	1.5
Norfolk	2.8	1.2	1.5	0.7	1.4
Rutlandshire	-	-	-	0.1	0.1
Suffolk	1.0	1.8	0.9	1.0	0.5
Southwest					
Cornwall	6.7	6.0	8.0	3.1	1.5
Devonshire	6.8	3.6	4.2	2.8	1.6
Dorsetshire	1.6	0.9	1.0	0.6	0.5
Somersetshire	4.9	4.2	3.0	2.2	2.1
Wiltshire	2.8	1.2	1.5	1.2	0.6
Midlands East					
Derbyshire	1.5	0.9	1.0	1.3	1.4
Leicestershire	0.4	1.6	0.8	1.4	0.9
Northamptonshire	0.3	1.0	0.9	0.7	0.6
Nottinghamshire	0.9	2.6	0.7	1.2	1.6
Midlands Central					
Staffordshire	1.6	1.8	2.1	1.9	2.1
Warwickshire	4.1	3.5	4.1	3.7	2.9
Midlands West					
Gloucestershire	3.3	2.1	3.6	2.0	1.0
Herefordshire	0.3	1.1	0.5	0.6	0.3
Shropshire	0.4	1.0	0.7	0.7	0.6
Worcestershire	0.9	1.1	1.4	0.7	1.0
Midlands South					
Bedfordshire	0.9	0.7	0.9	0.7	0.1
Berkshire	1.2	0.7	1.4	0.7	0.8

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Regions/counties	1840-52	1853-70	1871-90	1891-1915	1916-45
Buckinghamshire	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.4	0.3
Hertfordshire	0.7	0.6	0.2	0.3	0.6
Oxfordshire	1.2	0.9	2.7	0.7	0.5
Yorkshire	5.8	8.5	6.6	11.2	9.4
Lancashire/Cheshire					
Cheshire	1.3	1.4	1.2	2.5	2.0
Lancashire	3.9	7.1	6.1	12.1	14.8
Northeast					
Durham	0.3	1.9	2.4	3.1	4.4
Northumberland	0.9	1.4	1.6	1.9	3.3
Northwest					
Cumberland	1.2	1.7	0.9	1.4	1.2
Westmorland	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.5
North Wales					
Denbighshire	-	-	0.1	0.3	0.3
Flintshire	-	-	0.2	0.1	0.1
Montgomeryshire	0.1	-	0.1	0.1	0.1
Pembrokeshire	0.3	0.3	-	0.1	-
Radnorshire	0.1	-	0.1	0.1	-
Other north Wales		0.3	0.1	0.3	0.1
South Wales					
Glamorganshire	0.1	0.5	0.2	0.4	1.4
Monmouthshire	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.8
Other south Wales	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2
Offshore islands					
Channel Islands	0.6	1.1	2.2	0.7	0.4
Isle of Man	0.1	0.4	0.3	0.6	0.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not stated	25	37	76	73	54
Number	698	1192	1956	1411	1612

Source: Death registers

The second important fact about the regional origins of New Zealand's English settlers is that the pattern changed at the end of the nineteenth century. While London and the Home Counties continued to be significant sources of immigrants, the southwest fell away and there was a distinct rise in the numbers who had been born in the north, especially the manufacturing areas of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the northwest. Closer analysis of the figures shows that the reduction in numbers from the southeast and southwest and the rise in migrants from the north gathered pace after 1904 as assisted migration was re-introduced. By the interwar period well over a third of New Zealand's

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Lily Huggan (née Brown) lived for the first 32 years of her life in Halifax, Yorkshire, where she worked in the textile mills. Then in 1922 she emigrated to Wellington with her parents and brother. Seven months later she married another migrant from the north of England, Joseph Huggan, who had come out after serving in France during the First World War. The couple worked for a time in the Petone woollen mills, then opened a general store in Korokoro. During the Depression they served tea there to the unemployed, and became known as the 'mayor and mayoress of Korokoro'. It was an appropriate title for in the 1950s Joe became mayor of Petone, and after his death Lily succeeded him. 1/2-177292; F, ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY, MORRIE HILL COLLECTION (PACOLL-4814)

English had been born in the north, whereas among the immigrants of the 1870s the figure was less than one in five.

The major point remains, however, that for most of the nineteenth century, or at least for the 50 years of mass migration from the 1840s to the 1890s, the southwest, the southeast and London were very likely

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to hold the birthplaces of New Zealand's English settlers. How does one explain this long-lasting pattern of geographical clustering? One obvious explanation is that these areas were close to the ports from which the boats left for New Zealand. As Table 8 shows, throughout the period from 1835 to 1890 over 75 per cent of the ships sailing to New Zealand left from either London or Gravesend, and only in the 1853-1870 period did the proportion of boats leaving from Liverpool reach 3 per cent. It is also interesting to note that Plymouth in the West Country was a significant point of departure, especially in the early years. This would have been where many of the migrants from Cornwall and Devon caught the boat south. People living in the Midlands would find it much easier to travel to Liverpool and board a ship going across the Atlantic than to go all the way to London to catch one of the infrequent and far more expensive vessels to New Zealand. But of course the shipping companies followed demand, and had there been an established tradition of travel from the Midlands to New Zealand the ships would have followed. Further, some of the schemes of assisted migration covered the cost of travel to the port of departure. It should also be noted that the predominance of departures from the south of England did not stop the very large numbers who migrated from Scotland.

TABLE 8. PORTS OF ORIGIN OF SHIPS ARRIVING IN MAJOR NEW ZEALAND PORTS BETWEEN 1835 AND 1890 (PERCENTAGES)²⁸

	London	Gravesend	Plymouth	Liverpool	Glasgow	Greenock	Other	No.
1835-52	48.4	33.9	10.3	1.3	3.2	1.9	1.0	310
1853-70	41.4	33.5	3.1	3.1	7.6	4.0	7.3	708
1871-90	52.8	24.3	7.4	1.5	6.7	5.4	1.9	1064

Source: http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~shipstonz/ships_uk&i.html

Another explanation for the consistent geographical origin of New Zealand's English is that it reflects the areas where recruiting agents were based or concentrated their energies. There is considerable truth in this. There is a very close correlation between the geographical origins of migrants assisted by the New Zealand Company and the location of the company's recruiting agents. Of 74 agents of the company who operated in England, 52 worked in southern England (south of a line from The Wash to Bristol Channel). The level of applications from

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particular counties reflected in part the number of agents. Hampshire, for example, had eight agents in a population of 355,000, while the West Riding of Yorkshire had four agents working a population of 1,154,000. Not surprisingly, Hampshire's rate of application was over twice that of the West Riding.

This generalisation is true not only at a county level, but even at the level of towns and small rural areas. One of the Hampshire agents was based at Alton. That town supplied 35 per cent of Hampshire's applications, while adjacent districts such as Basingstoke and Alresford supplied very few. In Somerset there were agents at Chard and Langport, and a high proportion of the county applications to the company came from towns in that vicinity.

It seems likely that once patterns of migration from certain areas had been established by the New Zealand Company and its agents a system of chain migration took over, perpetuating the likelihood that these areas would continue to send their sons and daughters to New Zealand. In other words, the network of personal connections, letters back home, and the desire to bring out relatives meant that once one group of migrants from a particular area had settled in New Zealand others were likely to follow. There is no doubt that these personal linkages were crucial in attracting many migrants to New Zealand. Even at the time when applications were being made to the New Zealand Company it is clear that neighbours encouraged neighbours. In May 1841 the Hall family applied to the New Zealand Company from 4 Lyncombe Terrace, Bath, Somerset, and soon after the Mason family from 8 Lyncombe Terrace applied. In July the Vaughans of 25 St James Parade were accepted as emigrants by the company, and the same month their neighbours at no. 27, the Waters family, applied.²⁹ Once they arrived in New Zealand such migrants would write home and persuade other neighbours to come.

Family networks were even more important in perpetuating patterns of geographical clustering. Let us take the Jackson family, for example. Henry Humphrey Jackson was a Derbyshire farm labourer whose father had a cottage and garden and a mere 3 acres of land. He came out to Wellington on the New Zealand Company ship *Cuba*, and worked as a surveyor for the company. When at the end of the 1840s the company once more advertised passages for farm servants, Henry

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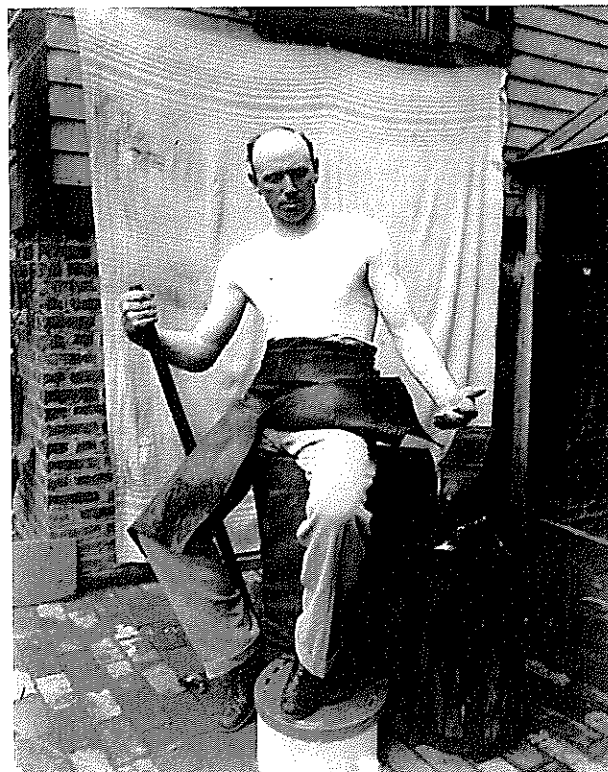
wrote to his two brothers, George and Sam, and applied on their behalf with a guarantee of their part of the fare. George came out, but Sam changed his mind. Then in the 1850s Wellington province set up a scheme of assistance. Once more Henry encouraged Sam to migrate. By now married, Sam agreed, and a friend of Henry's put up his part of the fare. Even then Henry did not stop acting as an informal recruiting agent, for in 1872, 33 years after he had left home, he was trying to persuade his sister to emigrate.³⁰

In this way patterns initially established by the recruitment drives of the New Zealand Company were reinforced by the actions of contented settlers taking advantage of later assistance schemes to cajole or persuade their friends, neighbours, siblings or parents to join them in New Zealand. There can be little doubt that the system of nomination that allowed people to suggest and pay for the migration of other family members served to strengthen regional concentrations.

So New Zealand Company recruitment echoed down subsequent years. Patterns were also reinforced by the practice of recruiting agents going back to old and established stamping grounds. The New Zealand government's agents of the 1870s went to areas first exploited by the New Zealand Company. But they also established new traditions. For example the south Midlands, especially the area around Oxfordshire, was not a particularly happy hunting ground for company agents. But in the 1870s as agricultural unionism affected the area and the New Zealand government developed a good relationship with the union, Oxford became a significant source of assisted passengers. This is reflected in the rise to 6 per cent for the south Midlands among the migrants of the 1870s, as shown in Table 5.

The striking fact remains that certain places in southern England developed long traditions of sending people out to New Zealand. Take Helston in Cornwall, which suffered from overcrowding and the downturn of the tin-mining industry. As Raewyn Dalziel has shown, those who came out with the Plymouth Company to New Plymouth in 1840-43 came from particular townships in the area, of which Helston was one. Eleven families, five of whom were neighbours in one street, migrated with the company.³¹ One of those who migrated was 21-year-old seamstress Caroline Julian. With her came her father, an agricultural labourer, her mother, her sister, who was married to a miner, their

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Bob Fitzsimmons, heavyweight boxing champion of the world, is remembered through the name of a pub in his home-town of Helston and a statue in his adopted town of Timaru. Here he is photographed, not as a boxer, but as a blacksmith, the trade he learned from his father in Timaru. PRIVATE COLLECTION

three children, another sister as a domestic servant, three brothers who came out as a labourer, a blacksmith and a mason respectively, and three younger siblings – a grand total of fifteen people.³²

Things did not improve in Helston, and in 1863, taking advantage of Canterbury's assisted passages, ten members of Henry and Grace Penberthy's family came out, as we have already seen in chapter 2. They were probably attracted by the presence of a friend and relative by marriage who was the preacher in the Wesleyan chapel in Christchurch. Nor did the flow from Helston stop then. Bob Fitzsimmons, the 'freckled wonder' who became heavyweight boxing champion of the world, came out from Helston to Timaru with his mother and policeman father in 1873. Today the many cabbage trees and flaxes in Helston may be an accidental echo of the town's New Zealand links, but the presence of 'kia ora' on two doorways is perhaps less coincidental.

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While New Zealand Company recruitment undoubtedly had a long and influential echo, this is only part of the story. For a start, the presence of agents did not always guarantee a flow of migrants. The company was well represented in Suffolk and Norfolk, but that area never became a major source of New Zealand immigrants – except among soldiers, who were brought to the country against their will. In the hunt for other explanations let us examine the regional breakdown of particular immigrant flows.

TABLE 9. REGIONS OF BIRTH OF ENGLISH AND WELSH IMMIGRANTS BY PARTICULAR FLOWS (PERCENTAGES)

Born in	Akld 1840-52	NZ Coy	Soldiers 1840s	Soldiers 1860s	Akld 1853-70	Canty assisted	Otago miners	West Coast miners	1871-88 assisted
London/ Middlesex	20.1	14.8	6.1	8.8	18.5	14.0	7.8	12.1	10.5
Southeast	17.2	20.8	18.3	11.8	11.6	12.3	8.5	8.9	16.5
East	7.4	3.3	17.0	18.5	7.9	9.2	6.6	10.3	10.5
Southwest	21.8	16.4	20.0	15.8	16.8	16.9	36.8	26.8	20.7
Midlands									
East	2.1	4.8	3.5	2.0	6.0	8.2	2.0	1.3	3.1
Central	3.6	8.9	4.3	4.4	7.6	4.9	1.8	1.3	6.7
West	4.3	4.7	7.8	5.0	4.8	7.7	2.3	1.3	8.3
South	4.5	4.0	5.7	5.0	2.8	6.6	2.0	0.9	7.4
Yorkshire	6.7	5.6	9.1	9.3	9.5	8.4	6.4	6.3	4.6
Lancs- Cheshire	8.6	3.4	7.0	14.9	8.1	3.2	9.4	11.2	3.9
Northeast	1.7	1.5	0.9	1.4	2.4	3.7	6.6	5.4	2.7
Northwest	0.5	0.8	0.0	1.3	1.4	2.0	3.9	3.1	0.8
Offshore islands	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.7	2.0	0.5	3.9	4.0	2.3
North Wales	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.3	1.3	1.2	4.0	1.1
South Wales	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.3	0.3	1.1	0.9	3.1	0.8
Not stated	133			3	104				
Number	550	5912	230	688	1495	3093	438	224	6128

Sources: Death registers, Register of Emigrant Labourers, passenger lists

Table 9 shows the regions of birth of the English and Welsh migrants who came to New Zealand in each wave of immigration. As we would expect, a relatively high proportion (52 per cent) of New Zealand Company immigrants came from the southwest, the southeast and London. However, in the years 1840-52 almost 60 per cent of Auckland's immigrants, a higher proportion than the company immigrants, were

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also derived from these three key areas. These were not people who were recruited, but migrants who paid their own way. So the organised recruitment of the New Zealand Company cannot be the only explanation for the clustered origins of New Zealand's immigrants.

The flow from these areas into Auckland remained strong in the 1850s and 1860s, and similar proportions can be seen in the Canterbury flow in the same years. Since quite a number of Auckland's early settlers came across the Tasman, the pattern is partly the result of the nature of migration to Australia. Paying passengers who went to Australia are hard to track down, but the evidence of those who were assisted to Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia in the 1840s and 1850s shows that the two most important recruitment areas were the southwest and London/Middlesex, two areas that were even better represented among Auckland's immigrants than among the New Zealand Company people.³³

Several other points about the regional origins of particular flows show up. The considerable numbers from the north who arrived in Auckland in the 1850s and 1860s reflect the 3000 Albertland settlers, many of whom were from Yorkshire. But this influx from the north was temporary. Lancashire and Yorkshire, major centres of the English population, remained poorly represented among New Zealand's assisted migrants, especially those of the 1870s, until new schemes emerged in the twentieth century.

A second obvious point is that there are distinct patterns for the military immigrants and the miners. The discharged soldiers included comparatively few who had been born in London and Middlesex, but relatively large numbers from eastern counties and from Lancashire and Cheshire. This simply reflected the origins of the regiments that came to New Zealand. Walter Tricker was one soldier from the eastern county of Suffolk who settled in New Zealand. He served with the 65th Regiment from 1846 until he purchased his discharge in 1849. He became a farmer near Bulls and would have disappeared into contented anonymity except for the fact that he was condemned to death in 1864 for allegedly killing his neighbour. Tricker became the nineteenth-century equivalent of Arthur Allan Thomas. His supporters in the local community rallied to a remarkable extent and he was released from prison after six years, and ultimately pardoned.³⁴

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As for the miners, the pattern largely followed the location of mining traditions in Britain itself, with remarkably strong representation from the tin and copper miners of the southwest (almost 37 per cent of Otago's miners came from that area) and the coal miners of the northeast and north Wales. Indeed, the miners of the West Coast were the only migrant group with a representation from Wales that was equivalent to the numbers at home. The Channel Islands and the Isle of Man were also hugely over-represented. In contrast, the miners included comparatively small numbers from the agricultural regions of the southeast. A very large number of the miners came to New Zealand from the Victorian goldfields, and the fact that many had migrated there from the southwest and Wales partly explains the high numbers from those areas.³⁵

The case of the miners suggests that occupation may have been a significant determinant of migration from England to New Zealand. Using information taken from the death registers, Table 10 shows the background of immigrants aged 20 and over (including those from Scotland and Ireland), based on the occupation of the father.

One might perhaps be sceptical that a father's occupation can tell us very much at all, particularly from a twentieth- and twenty-first-century perspective, since many people move a long way from the kind of job their father did. This is most obviously true of women. Yet among the migrants of the nineteenth century were many who came from traditional societies where sons did inherit their father's job. It is revealing, furthermore, that the distribution of the occupations of fathers of immigrants was very similar to the pattern revealed by the occupations of the adult male immigrants themselves (e.g., as declared by assisted immigrants). Father's occupation therefore gives us some idea of the class background from which New Zealand's immigrants came.

There are, however, other issues in using father's occupation. The death certificate would show the occupation as recalled by a spouse, child or friend, and was thus not likely to be very reliable. In addition, the information was not provided at all in a large number of cases. We have only included those aged 20 or over, to eliminate migrants who came out as children (usually with their parents) and whose fathers' occupations as stated on the death certificate were more likely to be those in New Zealand rather than in the old country. We have grouped

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the multitude of fathers' occupations cited in the death registers according to seven major categories: those who worked on the land as farmers or agricultural labourers; labourers; servants; people employed in traditional crafts that had not yet been brought into industrialised or factory modes of production (and which we have called 'pre-industrial'); those who worked in the 'new' occupations created by economic and technological change, especially in factories; gentlemen and white-collar workers; and finally a group of other occupations that includes two of some importance to New Zealand migration – seamen and soldiers.³⁶

TABLE 10. OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUNDS (FATHER'S OCCUPATION) OF ALL IMMIGRANTS FROM THE UK AGED 20 AND OVER (PERCENTAGES)

Occupations	Pre-1840	1840-52	1853-70	1871-90	1891-1915	1916-45	GB census 1851
Agriculture							
Farmers	21.1	28.4	34.1	29.2	19.0	12.4	6.5
Agricultural labourers	2.6	4.6	5.0	5.4	5.3	5.3	20.4
Total agriculture	23.7	33.0	39.1	34.7	24.4	17.6	27.3
Labourers	6.6	7.5	5.9	10.2	5.7	5.8	6.9
Servants	0.0	0.9	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.3	9.3
Pre-industrial occupations							
Building	6.6	6.8	7.4	8.3	10.1	9.6	7.4
Mining	0.0	1.5	2.6	3.4	4.8	7.4	5.2
Transport (traditional)	0.0	1.8	1.1	1.6	1.9	2.5	
Other pre-industrial	23.7	16.9	19.2	17.3	21.8	19.6	17.6
Total pre-industrial	30.3	27.0	30.4	30.5	38.6	39.0	30.2
Industrial	11.8	6.8	5.1	6.6	11.0	15.4	16.0
White collar	19.7	19.6	13.0	11.2	14.3	14.1	10.5
Other occupations							
Soldiers	0.0	2.0	1.4	1.4	0.9	1.9	
Seamen	7.9	2.2	3.8	4.0	3.5	3.7	
Others	0.0	1.1	1.3	1.2	1.2	2.1	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Not stated	44	149	360	427	216	229	
Number	120	604	1691	2157	1702	2095	

Source: Death registers

SETTLERS



William Shilling, from Faversham in Kent, was one of a considerable number of men who migrated to New Zealand by jumping ship. Shilling did so in 1869 when he deserted the *St Vincent* in Wellington. It was a fortunate decision since the ship was wrecked soon after in Palliser Bay. Here Shilling poses with a Maori family at Karaka Bay on Wellington Harbour, where he became a long-serving pilot. 1/1-020634-G; ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY

Despite the caveats, the figures suggest several significant factors. In the migration in the years up to 1890, well over a third of the migrants had fathers who had worked on the land, and if we add those whose fathers were described as 'labourers' (who were most likely to be farm labourers) then about two in every five were from an agricultural background. This is important when thinking about the assumptions and desires of those migrants. Coming from a rural background they may well have had landowning aspirations. But it is equally important not to exaggerate the rural origins of Pakeha New Zealanders. Because of the declared preference for farm labourers in many of the schemes of immigration assistance, and because of the rural mythol-

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ogy that has affected so much of New Zealand's understanding of its own past, it is perhaps easy to think of all migrants as farm workers. However, the migrants were not disproportionately from an agricultural background.

Comparing the proportions of those from an agricultural background with the 1851 census of England and Scotland (and noting that these figures exclude Ireland, which was highly agricultural), the proportion of immigrants with a farming background was only slightly higher than in England and Scotland as a whole. In addition, since it is the occupations of fathers we are examining, and one might therefore, strictly speaking, look at the breakdown about a generation earlier, in fact New Zealand's immigrants were slightly less bucolic than might have been expected. Further, from the turn of the century the numbers dropped strongly, so that during the period between the wars no more than one in five came off the farm. Children of rural workers were important among New Zealand's pioneers, but never overwhelmingly so.

On the other hand, throughout this period there were remarkably few people whose fathers had been in the industrial workforce. Right through until the First World War, fewer than one in ten of New Zealand's UK settlers came from this background. New Zealand was not settled by refugees from the smoke stacks and grime of industry. There were, it is true, some migrants whose family members had been attracted into mills from surrounding rural areas, especially in places where factories were established in the country to be close to water-power or coal. Hannah Hadfield's was one such family. Hannah was the daughter of a shoemaker in Glossop, Derbyshire. This is a place of rare rural beauty, but by the 1850s Glossop had 40 cotton mills, and at the age of ten Hannah went to work as a power-loom weaver in one of the mills. The American Civil War disrupted cotton supplies, so in 1865 the Hadfields set off for Christchurch on a Canterbury provincial assistance scheme. They had been sponsored by friends in the colony. Hannah eventually married a rather more typical migrant, Albert Dunstall, a carpenter and son of a farmer of six acres from East Sussex who came out in 1870.³⁷

New Zealand was comparatively attractive for those with a white-collar background. In absolute terms the numbers were not great

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Walter Mantell was one of quite a number of immigrants in the early years of settlement whose fathers were very respectable white-collar workers. Walter's father Gideon Mantell was a doctor and well-known palaeontologist who hoped that his son would follow his profession. Instead, in 1839, at the age of nineteen, Walter came out with the New Zealand Company to Wellington. He worked as a farmer, clerk, postmaster and overseer of military roads before achieving fame, first as the Crown purchaser of South Island Maori lands, then as a natural history collector for British scientists, especially Richard Owen at the British Museum. 35MM-00129-E; F, ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY, GENERAL ASSEMBLY LIBRARY COLLECTION (PACOLL-0838), PHOTOGRAPH BY WILLIAM HENSHAW CLARKE



— perhaps one in eight of our nineteenth-century settlers — but this was significantly larger than their numbers at home. These were the troubled middle classes — the children of clerks and professionals who saw new opportunities in the New World. They were particularly attracted to New Zealand in the 1840s, when the propaganda of the New Zealand Company appeared to offer them new opportunities for leadership in a new society.

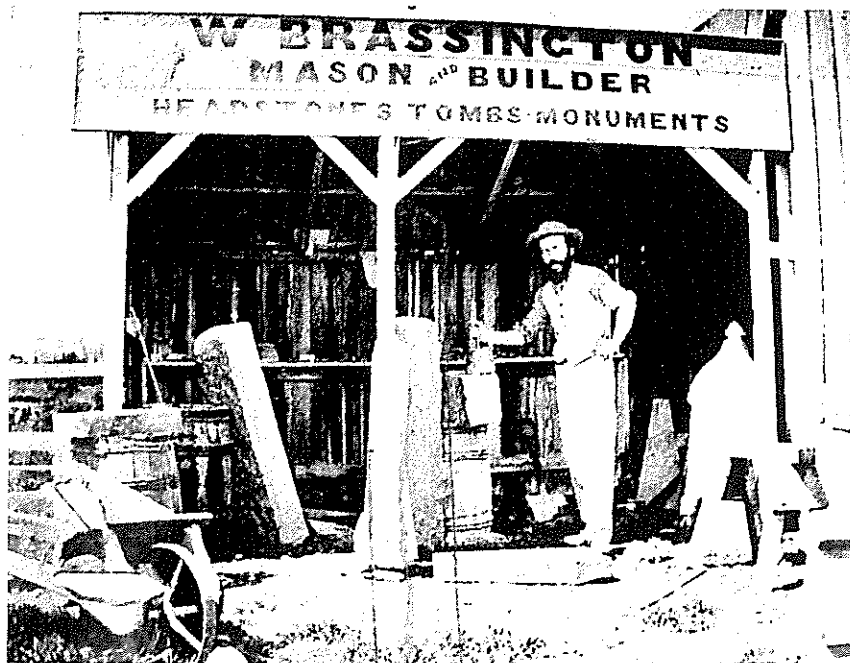
One who achieved fame was Thomas Brunner. In 1841 Brunner's lawyer father signed him on with the company as an apprentice surveyor. He went to Nelson to lay out sections and roads, but became captured by the hopes of a great interior plain, so desperately needed by Nelson to fulfil its promises to investors and immigrants alike. He



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William Brassington, whose father was a stonemason in Nottingham, was himself apprenticed to a mason, and when he migrated to Canterbury in 1863 he quickly set up a yard just south of the Anglican part of the Barbadoes Street cemetery. However, the architect Benjamin Mountfort spotted his talent and invited him to work carving stonework on the provincial council chamber. He later worked on a number of Canterbury's stone buildings, including Canterbury Museum. 10540, CANTERBURY MUSEUM, WILLIAMS COLLECTION

set out to see if it existed. On one journey he was accompanied by two men of similar background – Charles Heaphy, the son of a successful professional watercolourist, and William Fox, son of a rich Durham justice of the peace. On his greatest journey, the longest feat of exploration in New Zealand's European history, Brunner's companions were Maori guides who took him down the west coast and back, a journey that took 550 days. He did not hear a word of English, but with the help of his guides he learned to walk barefoot and eat fern root. At one moment of near-starvation he even ate his faithful dog. It was a long way from the respectable Oxfordshire life of his father.³⁸

There were large numbers of people from the category we have called 'pre-industrial'. Until the turn of the twentieth century there

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were only marginally fewer from this background than from a strictly agricultural background. Who were these people, who were so numerous among the settlers? Very few had a mining background. Rather more came from families that included builders. If they were men who had inherited their father's occupation (which was quite likely), then as builders they were consistently attractive to immigration recruiters. There was always building to be done in a new society, and a number of the schemes of assistance specifically invited applications for builders or carpenters.

A greater number of the emigrants' fathers had worked in pre-industrial crafts – as bakers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, butchers, wheelwrights, sawyers, tanners, coopers and millers. These were craft workers, not yet faced with industrial modes of production. If we add in people involved in traditional transport industries, like carters, then almost one in five of New Zealand's nineteenth-century UK immigrants was born into this pre-industrial world.

It is not entirely clear from our sources where exactly these people lived. In a reaction against the old view that New Zealand's immigrants were overwhelmingly rural, some recent historians have suggested that they were more likely to be from cities.³⁹ This is at least in part based on Dudley Baines' classification of certain of England's counties as 'urban' on the basis of census figures. But the fact that many immigrants came from counties which included cities does not mean that the immigrants themselves were living in cities. Indeed, apart from Gloucestershire (38.5 per cent), none of the English counties that were significantly over-represented (i.e., by at least 1.5 times) among New Zealand migrants in the 1870s had more than 30 per cent of their population living in urban areas with a population of 20,000 or more. In other words, at least 70 per cent were living in villages or small towns.⁴⁰

When we look at the pre-industrial crafts that are cited as father's occupation in the death registers, some could clearly be pursued within an urban setting – builders, shoemakers, jewellers – while others that were well represented – sawyers, coopers and wheelwrights – were much more likely to be based in a rural setting. Such people depended very much on the agricultural community around them. They may well have had small plots of land themselves. Many would have been part of the village community. They had a simple commercial relationship

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with the rural hinterland, either providing products such as wheels for the community or processing the products of farms as millers or bakers. It was children from these families, as well as those from a strictly agricultural background, who gave a rural cast to many of New Zealand's immigrant stock.

Interestingly, there are striking contrasts when we compare statistics on the declared occupations of all adult males leaving the United Kingdom with those who were departing for Australasia in the years 1871-76 (years of great migration to New Zealand). Whereas only 9.8 per cent of all emigrants were involved in agriculture, the figure for those leaving for Australia or New Zealand was 32.3 per cent; and while 11.4 per cent of all emigrants were involved in pre-industrial crafts, those heading to Australasia included 19.7 per cent craft-workers. On the other side, industrial workers comprised 12.4 per cent of those leaving the United Kingdom, but only 3.3 per cent of those heading to this part of the world.⁴¹ In other words, New Zealand (and Australian) immigrants were clearly of a more rural character. Of course they were not all rural or small-town people. Obviously those who were born in London (which ranged from about 8 per cent of the English in the case of the Otago miners up to about 20 per cent of those coming into Auckland) arrived with urban experience, as did the substantial numbers coming from Glasgow and, to a lesser extent, Edinburgh.

Finally, it is worth remarking on the surprising number of immigrants whose fathers had been seamen (over 3 per cent). A number of these came from the maritime islands of Scotland. Others may well have followed their fathers and become seamen themselves, and then on a voyage to New Zealand jumped ship.

With this overview in mind, let us look more closely at fathers' occupations among immigrants from England. Table 11 shows the distribution of occupational background in the various immigrant streams, with the occupations of the Great Britain population in 1851 as a comparison (once again, since this excludes Ireland, it underestimates the number of agricultural workers in the UK male workforce). Table 12 shows the declared occupations of the immigrants themselves in the various streams of assisted migrants, so it excludes those who paid their own way.

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TABLE 11. OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND (FATHER'S OCCUPATION) OF ENGLISH AND WELSH IMMIGRANTS AGED 20 AND OVER (PERCENTAGES)⁴²

	Pre-1840	1840-52	Aldd 1840-52	1853-70	Aldd 1853-70	Otago miners	West Coast miners	1871-90	1891-1915	1916-45	GB census 1851
Agriculture	13.0	28.5	22.6	24.4	25.1	24.3	26.4	26.1	17.7	12.5	27.3
Labourers	7.4	10.0	8.0	6.7	3.1	6.5	5.7	11.8	5.9	5.8	6.9
Builders	5.6	6.9	8.7	8.6	8.5	9.1	6.4	10.4	11.5	9.9	7.4
Miners	0.0	2.4	2.1	3.9	2.2	4.5	17.1	4.7	4.0	6.7	5.2
Total pre-industrial	33.3	30.6	33.8	39.5	36.8	39.7	47.9	36.0	43.5	41.7	30.2
Total industrial	16.7	4.1	5.2	6.7	8.7	4.6	4.3	7.6	11.5	16.0	16.0
White collar	20.4	21.3	19.5	15.8	18.4	17.2	10.0	13.0	15.8	16.9	10.5
Other	9.3	5.5	10.7	6.9	8.1	7.6	6.5	5.5	5.7	7.1	9.1
Not stated	31	89	120	181	242	167	156	220	152	162	
Number	85	380	407	776	1143	796	296	1199	1121	1325	

*Source: Death registers***TABLE 12. DECLARED OCCUPATIONS OF ENGLISH AND WELSH MALE IMMIGRANTS (PERCENTAGES)**

Occupations	NZ Company	Canterbury assisted	NZ assisted 1871-88
Agriculture	36.1	45.9	34.5
Labourers	13.1	18.2	22.4
Builders	18.9	13.1	15.7
Miners	3.3	0.8	3.2
Total pre-industrial	43.0	28.7	34.3
Industrial	3.5	2.2	3.6
White collar	1.1	2.0	0.5
Other	3.2	3.0	4.6
Not stated	0	18	9
Number	1761	871	1863

Sources: Register of Emigrant Labourers, passenger lists

People with a background in agriculture were important among the English, but not overwhelmingly so, and their numbers dropped fast from the turn of the century. The representation of people with farming origins closely followed the number of people involved with agriculture in the English workforce as a whole. The only immigrant flows with an exceptionally high proportion of people who seem to have been involved in agriculture were those who came as assisted immigrants with the New Zealand Company, Canterbury province or the New Zealand government. Because these figures are based on the migrants'

declared occupations, rather than their fathers', the high numbers may partly reflect the preference of the immigration agents for agricultural labourers. In almost every scheme of assistance the publicised male occupations for a free or assisted passage were agricultural labourers, gardeners or shepherds. This may have encouraged individuals applying for such passages to falsify their occupations. It may also reflect the success of the recruiters in attracting those whom they most wanted. The vast majority of these people were neither landowners nor even farmers with tenanted holdings. They were predominantly the third tier in the English agricultural social structure – labourers who were either hired for a period ranging from a day to a season, or lived in tied cottages attached to a farm. Occasionally they might have a couple of acres of freehold, and traditionally they had used common land to hunt for rabbits or gather firewood, but their major source of support was labouring in the fields for wages.

The very low numbers of people with an industrial background is again notable, especially among those who were given assistance, and there was a comparatively high number of English migrants whose fathers were white-collar workers – although as one might expect there were few professionals among the assisted. Most offspring of white-collar workers could afford to come out in cabin class, paying their own way. Finally, there was an even greater representation among the English from those with a pre-industrial background. Over a third of New Zealand's immigrant settlers from England up to 1945 came from this background. Among these people, those with builders as fathers were consistently well-represented, miners much less so – except, as might be expected, among those who came in to the Otago or Westland goldfields. And the numbers of people with craft origins were high among both the assisted immigrants and those who paid their own way.

The builders included several who made distinguished contributions to the colony, such as Charles Carter. He was born up north in Westmorland and trained as a carpenter, but suffered unemployment after moving to London. The experience led him to become a strong advocate for migration to New Zealand. He took the step himself in 1850, and quickly became a successful builder in Wellington and Wairarapa. He served for a time in England as an emigration agent for

SETTLERS

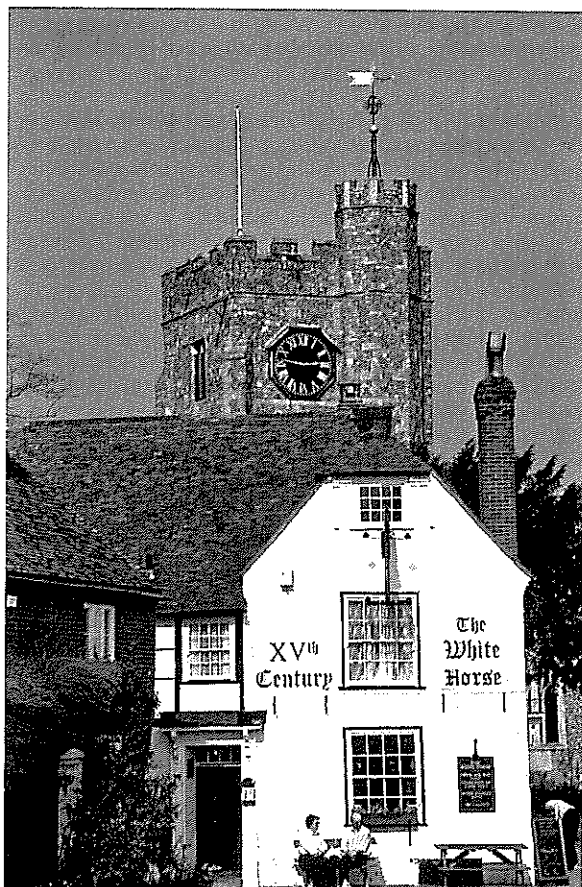
the Wellington province, then for the New Zealand government at the beginning of Vogel's immigration drive. His record of public service is commemorated in the names of the town of Carterton in Wairarapa and the Carter Observatory in Wellington.⁴³

Why were people with an agricultural or pre-industrial craft background so important among England's emigrants to New Zealand? Until the 1890s the two groups comprised about two-thirds of all English immigrants. One reason, as we have noted, was the obvious preferences of the New Zealand government and its agents, who deliberately targeted these people. A second factor, in the 1870s, was the interaction between the so-called 'Revolt of the Field', an uprising of agricultural unions, and the New Zealand offer of free passages. Rollo Arnold has documented the way the New Zealand emigration agents cultivated relationships with rural union leaders, who in turn began to encourage migration to New Zealand as their attempts to raise wages at home faltered.⁴⁴

One person who was crucial in this process was Arthur Clayden, a Berkshire journalist who was involved as an immigration agent for the New Zealand government as early as 1872. He began to work with the National Agricultural Labourers' Union, and as a New Zealand migration agent in Berkshire he reportedly sent about 500 people to the colony. His brother came out in 1877 and Arthur quickly followed. He returned to England in 1879 and published the first of four books advocating emigration to New Zealand, especially for the rural labouring classes. Clayden was convinced that for such people New Zealand was superior to the other colonies on offer. After periods in New Zealand, the loneliness of colonial life finally sent him back to England nine years before his death.⁴⁵

The migration to New Zealand of Clayden's rural labourers was part of a wider 'flight from the land' during the nineteenth century. There were complex causes behind the rural depopulation: the decline of rural cottage industries as many of the processes moved into city factories; a reduction in the use of live-in farm servants (especially in the arable south), which encouraged young people to move to the towns or to emigrate, and the growth of task or piecework and, as a result, recurrent winter unemployment.⁴⁶ As the composition of the agricultural workforce changed, so the numbers employed contracted. The number

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An important source of English migrants to New Zealand in the 1870s was Kent, where the 'Revolt of the Field' movement of rural labourers' unions was strong. This photo shows The White Horse Inn at Chilham in Kent, where a large group of English were farewelled before sailing to New Zealand in 1879. JOCK PHILLIPS PHOTO

of day labourers (who included shepherds, ploughmen, carters, those in charge of cattle, as well as the general or 'ordinary' labourer mainly engaged in field work) reached its zenith in 1851, then declined markedly. The total number of people employed in agriculture declined by 21.1 per cent between 1861 and 1870, followed by reductions of 16.0 per cent and 8.4 per cent in the succeeding decades.⁴⁷ Those who remained in the country found that their options for supplementing their livelihood were being closed up – common lands, for example, were enclosed, reducing the hunting or grazing of pigs. Thus, behind the readiness of England's agricultural labourers to emigrate to New Zealand lay complex changes affecting the availability, continuity and

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Ernest and Hannah Hayes in about 1914. Ernest Hayes, the son of a Warwickshire mole-catcher, was apprenticed as a millwright.

In 1882 he and his wife Hannah migrated to Dunedin and settled in Central Otago, where he worked for his uncle in a flour-mill. Ernest developed a farm, and to help in his work he began to invent tools, which eventually led on to the establishment of a serious engineering workshop. Among his inventions were the parallel wire-strainer for farm fences and the farm windmill, which was widely used in rural New Zealand. PRIVATE COLLECTION



stability of agricultural employment, especially in the southern counties where the colony found the greatest response to its offers of free passages.

George Smith was a typical example of New Zealand's emigrant agricultural labourers. He was a farm labourer in the Wychwood area of Oxfordshire. There the wages were not high and there was surplus labour. The large forest, a source of wood and game, had recently been cleared. A union was established. When Charles Carter visited in 1872 labourers came out of the fields to meet him. George Smith was one of the ten married men selected for assisted passages, and he sailed with his wife and three children in September that year. The following year George wrote a letter home that was printed in the *Labourers Union*

Chronicle. It spoke in ecstatic terms of this 'sunny land' where there was plenty of work and you could 'get a leg of mutton for sixpence'. His letter helped spark a flood of migration from the area that only halted when seventeen locals lost their lives in the *Cospatrick* fire en route to New Zealand.⁴⁸

As rural depopulation and agricultural depression hit, traditional craft-workers suffered.⁴⁹ Those engaged in rural industry found employment opportunities contracting markedly. Rural outwork in the textile industries was reduced as some trades disappeared and others were centralised into large urban mills. Linen manufacture moved to Ireland and Scotland, while straw-plaiting, hosiery and glove-making declined in the face of changing fashions, cheaper imports, and the sewing machine. Small boot- and shoe-manufacturers saw their nearby markets disappear as the population left, while the growing use of imported raw materials encouraged the establishment of large shoe factories in the ports. As rural crafts and trades disappeared this hurt carpenters (including 'hedge carpenters' who serviced farmers' needs), masons, painters, glaziers and plumbers, all of whom featured among those who arrived in New Zealand as assisted immigrants.⁵⁰ Employment in blacksmithing and wheelwrighting declined as iron wheels began to be made in factories, millwrights faced rapid technical changes in grain-milling, machine coopering was introduced, fence- and hurdle-makers suffered from imported fencing materials, and the number of sawyers declined rapidly as softwood timbers were imported.

Rural tradesmen and craftsmen therefore responded readily to the offer of free passages to New Zealand, where their skills seemed to be in keen demand in a period of apparently rapid economic growth and development. One who came was William Pike, a wheelwright in Shepherd's Green in Oxfordshire, who emigrated to Christchurch with his wife and four children in 1873. Ten-year-old Ada would later, as Ada Wells, achieve eminence as a great organiser and campaigner for women's suffrage.⁵¹ People like William from a pre-industrial small-town or village world were hugely important among the English immigrants to New Zealand, at least until 1914.

Nor should we forget that the loss of rural work on farms or in crafts hurt women as well as men. Reduced farm incomes lessened the opportunities for young women to obtain work locally as domestic

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servants, while the loss of crafts like glove-making deprived women of supplementary income. To obtain work young women were often faced with the option of moving to the cities, which could be an uncertain and frightening prospect. When agents came offering free or assisted passages to New Zealand the dangers must have seemed no greater and the possibilities more attractive, especially if brothers or cousins had already headed south.

One other set of statistics that is worth examining before drawing some wider conclusions is that relating to religion. Table 13 shows the religious background of immigrants from England and Wales between 1840 and 1915.

TABLE 13. RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION AT DEATH OF IMMIGRANTS FROM ENGLAND AND WALES (PERCENTAGES)

Denomination	1840-52	1853-70	1871-90	1891-1915	1851 UK census of church 'attendees' ⁵²	1871 NZ census
Church of England	66.3	61.4	59.5	59.1	49.8	41.8
Presbyterian	7.8	11.6	5.9	11.3	0.1	24.8
Methodist	17.9	17.1	21.8	15.4	15.3	8.5
Other Protestant	3.2	6.5	9.6	9.0	11.2	4.5
Roman Catholic	4.4	3.0	3.2	5.1	3.4	13.9
Jewish	0.5	0.5	0.1	0.2	-	0.5
Not stated	107	155	254	443		
Number	698	1037	1856	1411		

Source: Death registers

Given that they are derived from the denomination of the person who officiated at the funeral or who completed the death certificate, the figures are rough, but they are still suggestive of some trends. They tell us that, compared with their position in England as a whole, non-Conformists, especially Methodists, were very well represented in New Zealand.⁵³ The Methodist movement, started in the eighteenth century by John Wesley, was a class revolt against the established rural order of Anglican squire and clergy. With lay preachers and open-air services it was a classic religious revival, appealing to those who were less privileged in English society. It attracted strong adherence in certain areas, such as the north of England and the far southwest, and it promoted a moral code of hard work and piety. Of course the non-Conformists were a minority of the English, but they were an important minority,

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Temple White was the son of the Laceby grocer and emigration agent, John White, who used his Methodist connections to induce many people to come out to New Zealand. John White came out to New Plymouth himself in 1893, bringing Temple, then aged eleven. Subsequently Temple White became the organist and choirmaster at the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Wellington, a position he held for 46 years, during which time he played a leading role in the choral activities of the capital. PACOLL-6388-37, ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY

and their powerful presence added a distinctive reformist flavour to New Zealand public life.

Behind the broad statistics there lay many particular immigrant flows. The number of Methodists, for example, was affected in the 1860s by the Albertland settlement which drew upon the non-Conformists of the Midlands and Yorkshire. Lincolnshire was a significant Methodist recruiting ground. In 1859 Thomas Ball, a Methodist bookseller in Brigg, led a party of 80 local Wesleyans to Mangonui, where they took up land grants offered by the Auckland province.⁵⁴ Between 1874 and 1879 the local agent in Laceby, John H. White, who was also, like many agents, the village grocer, recruited some 2000 largely Methodist migrants. To attract people he drew on his connections with the Methodist chapel and the local temperance society.⁵⁵

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The figures also point up the strong Anglicanism of New Zealand's settlers from England in the 1840s. By being so well-represented in these years, they were able to establish Anglican institutions firmly at the start of settlement.

Until the turn of the twentieth century, then, strong continuities defined English immigration to New Zealand. One was the continuing strength of the flow from the southwest and Cornwall in particular. New Zealand Company recruiters had targeted the area and traditions of migration were quickly established, aided by the importance of Plymouth as a port of departure. The Plymouth Company, which sent over a thousand settlers to New Plymouth in 1840-43, as Raewyn Dalziel has described, was based there until it was taken over by the New Zealand Company.⁵⁶ Cornwall was an area of massive out-migration in the nineteenth century. It had by far the highest rate of emigration of any English county in the last four decades of the century,⁵⁷ and New Zealand was always one of the chosen destinations. More than 6 per cent of New Zealand's English migrants from 1840 to 1870 came from Cornwall, as did some 8 per cent of those in the 1870s and 1880s, and up to 10 per cent of the assisted migrants of that period.

Cornwall was inhabited by people with a Celtic background and in the nineteenth century they were still, in the far west, speaking the distinctive Cornish language. The area had long been known for its mining, and in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries it was one of the first areas exposed to the effects of the industrial revolution, as new technology and demand led to the expansion first of tin- and then of copper-mining. When new supplies of tin, and then copper, began to be exploited overseas, in Malaya and Australia, the Cornish industry suffered from instability and lowering prices. The number of migrants to New Zealand from Cornwall who had a mining background began to rise: in the 1840-52 period about 20 per cent of those of Cornish origin in our sample had fathers described as miners, but then Cornish people with a mining background flooded into the gold-fields. Some 30 per cent of Otago's English miners and over 20 per cent of those on the West Coast originated in Cornwall. Many had gone out to the copper mines of South Australia in the 1850s, then moved on to

the goldfields of Victoria before crossing the Tasman to the new rushes in the South Island.⁵⁸

John Lawn was a typical example of these trans-Tasman Cornish miners. With his two brothers he had fled the declining Cornish mines in 1857 for the Victorian goldfields. Hearing about the strike in Otago the three bought mining gear and a handcart, and headed for Gabriel's Gully. Within a day they had found 14 ounces of gold. Such success did not keep them here, however. John and his brothers moved back and forth across the Tasman – to the Victorian fields, to Hokitika, to the copper mines of South Australia – before John finally settled at Reefton.⁵⁹

Other miners came direct from Cornwall in the 1860s, when about 50,000 miners left the county for overseas destinations. A number of the Cornish miners on the West Coast had originally come out to Canterbury on assisted passages to work on the Lyttelton–Christchurch railway tunnel. When this was completed in 1867 they crossed over the Southern Alps to the goldmines. And they continued to come – even in the 1870s and 1880s, 8 per cent of the English immigrants to New Zealand were Cornish and about a third of these had fathers who had been miners. Few of those with a mining background would have been exclusively miners. Most mining families also had a small dwelling on what had once been waste land, and subsisted by growing crops and keeping a few pigs.⁶⁰

People with a more exclusively farming background also migrated to New Zealand from Cornwall. In the 1840s about a quarter of the Cornish immigrants in our sample were off the land, while between 1853 and 1870 close to half had this background. Cornwall was an area of small tenanted holdings on which all the family worked. It had been particularly badly hit by pressures of population growth and then by the potato blight of the late 1840s. More than a third of the Cornish people in our samples for the whole period 1840–90 were Methodist; indeed, of those in the 1870s and 1880s, a total of 56 per cent were dissenters. One of these was John Crewes, from Grampound, a small Cornish market town, who came out in 1877 as a missionary for the Bible Christians, a splinter group of Methodists. Crewes was a social worker and temperance advocate in Christchurch before moving to Wellington, where he was the prime mover in the establishment of the zoo.⁶¹

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Elizabeth Horrell (née Moore) was the daughter of a farm bailiff at Topsham, Devon. She married John Horrell, who became a tenant farmer. The farm was not profitable so, spurred on by the local rector who was an advocate for the Canterbury Association, the couple came out to Canterbury on the *Charlotte Jane*, one of the 'first four ships'. Elizabeth was appointed the first woman schoolteacher in Canterbury, but later, with a family that grew to include twelve children, she was kept busy managing the household.

CANTERBURY MUSEUM,
PHOTOGRAPH BY J. M. VERRALL

The rest of the southwest – Devon, Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire – was also a good source of recruits for New Zealand. There were few miners there and in both the 1840s and the 1870s, if we include labourers, a majority of the migrants from these areas came from an agricultural background, more than for other parts of England. In Devon many of these had come from small-holdings. Further east the completion of the enclosure of land reduced the demand for rural labour. The wool industry that had once flourished in Devon, Somerset and Wiltshire also suffered from mechanisation. Again, builders and pre-industrial craft-workers were quite well represented among the backgrounds of migrants from these areas (although somewhat less than elsewhere). Such families must have been affected by the expanding rail network, which reached the west in the 1840s. Self-employed craft-workers who

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had provided for the local market now found themselves unable to compete with factory products. As a result of all these factors, schemes of assistance received a warm response in the southwest.

The southeast, especially the county of Kent, provided another continuous source of migrants. Over 10 per cent of England's migrants to New Zealand in the 1840s came from Kent, as did over 6 per cent of those in the 1870s and 1880s – numbers disproportionate to the county's population. And Kent people were better represented among migrants to New Zealand than among those going to other destinations overseas. The area was close to London, a major port of embarkation to New Zealand, and it was a prime area for recruitment by both the New Zealand Company and agents of the provincial and central governments.

The social structure here was very different from that in the southwest. There were a small number of large tenant farmers, and most of the agricultural labour force worked as farm labourers hired by the week or the day. Outside the north, agricultural wages in Kent were among the highest in the country, but being relatively close to London, farm labourers began to compare their wages with those in other parts of the economy. Agricultural wages rose over the course of the nineteenth century, but by less than those for city workers. Kent had suffered from the enclosure movement and the loss of common lands, and it was also among the counties affected by the 'Captain Swing' riots of the 1830s, an uprising of disaffected rural labourers. It is true that as the rail network spread, new fruit and hop-growing industries developed, providing seasonal work. But much of this was short-term employment requiring migration, and in the 1870s, as Rollo Arnold has documented so well, a labourers' union movement sprang up – the so-called 'Revolt of the Field' – in response to farmers' attempts to cut wages. It was led by Alfred Simmons, who was instrumental in directing the frustrations of the rural labour force towards emigration to New Zealand.⁶²

So in both the 1840s and the 1870s, the occupational background of over 50 per cent of the Kentish settlers in our sample was either farming or labouring. There were also significant numbers of builders and other craft-workers, who seem to have been especially well-represented in the migrations of the 1850s and 1860s. For such people – among them boot-makers, brewers and rope-makers – proximity to London

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Sarah Higgins (née Sharp) came from Lydden, Kent where her father was a labourer. Her mother died and the family came out to Nelson in 1842, but after her older sister died on the voyage Sarah, aged twelve, was left to keep house. Later she married a sawyer, became a midwife and delivered 350 babies. She learnt to write at the age of 74. 1/2-190392; F, ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY, EDNA HIGGINS COLLECTION (PACOLL-7068)

and major transport routes began to undermine local craft traditions. Those parts of Kent with strong Methodist and dissenting traditions were particularly prone to draw people to New Zealand. Methodism seems to have provided a culture of dissent which helped give focus to resistance and eventual migration.⁶³ About a third of Kent's migrants in our sample in the period 1840-90 were recorded in the death registers as dissenters, and about a sixth were Methodists. Kent was one of those areas where the new Poor Law was enforced, with so-called 'outdoor' relief no longer provided and only those in a workhouse supported. The prospect of unemployment or a penurious old age had become something to be feared. The thought of independence in a new country

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where the family could support its dependents on land was an enticing prospect.

The third area of consistent migration to New Zealand was London and Middlesex. The numbers who came from this area were always higher than their representation in the English population, and it was even better represented in the twentieth century than earlier. In the years between the wars over one in five migrants came from the capital. These do not appear to have been the children of recent migrants from rural areas, for throughout the century from 1840 to 1945 very few of the migrants from London and Middlesex had fathers who were farmers. Even if we include those described as labourers, only in the 1870s and 1880s did the proportion of London migrants with farming fathers reach 15 per cent.

Immigrants from this area were disproportionately of three types. Throughout the whole period about 15 per cent had fathers who were builders or carpenters (about twice as high as from other areas). Sophia Anstice, for example, was the daughter of a Marylebone carpenter; she married a salesman and came out to Nelson in 1874 as an assisted migrant. Sent to pioneer in harsh conditions at Karamea, she moved after four years to Nelson and set up a dressmaking business that eventually employed many staff and had branches in Murchison, Takaka and Motueka. She reportedly made use of her London origins by buying material from relatives who had a drapery store in Tottenham Court Road.⁶⁴

The second kind of London migrant came from a background in the skilled traditional crafts. Over one in four of the London migrants during the core years of migration (1853-1915) had fathers who were craftsmen. These were people from a range of crafts serving the urban consumer, among them bakers, bookbinders, jewellers and piano-makers. When we add the builders to this group, until 1915 they comprise well over 40 per cent of the migrants from London and Middlesex. One who came from this background was the eccentric Wellington politician Robert Carpenter. The son of a London cabinet-maker, he trained as a bookbinder. In 1842, when he was in his early twenties, Robert and his wife Harriet came out to Wellington. Finding little demand for bookbinding, Carpenter became a seller of second-hand books and an opinionated provincial politician representing small

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James Berry was the son of a London clerk and started work in the city as an insurance clerk. But he did not enjoy it, so in 1925, at the age of eighteen, he came on an assisted passage to New Zealand. He paid off the passage as a farm cadet in Gisborne, then began work as a commercial artist in Wellington, where he found a niche designing stamps and coins. These included most of the 1940 centennial stamps and the coins adopted at the introduction of decimal coinage in 1967. PACOLL-3496-1, ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY

tradesmen. Harriet made money selling fancy waistcoats.⁶⁵ Londoners of this kind were clearly happier in the city.

The third significant group of Londoners were those whose fathers had been white-collar workers; about one in five had this background, a much higher proportion than for migrants from elsewhere in Britain. In the early years a number of these people were from the higher professions, such as clergy or lawyers, while later there were more whose fathers had been clerks or schoolteachers. Henry Wigram, the son of a London barrister, came out to Christchurch for health reasons in 1883 and quickly became a successful businessman. As mayor of Christchurch he was instrumental in establishing the electric tram system, and as an enthusiast for aviation he established the aerodrome that still carries his name.⁶⁶ A future mayor of Auckland, John Allum,

had himself been a London clerk, although his father had been a porter. Allum was mayor from 1941 to 1953 and was largely responsible for the building of Auckland's harbour bridge, which was known at the time as 'Jack Allum's bridge'. He was a tireless lobbyist for the city and became known as 'His Imperial Highness'. It is perhaps not surprising, given their origins, that Londoners seem to be good for New Zealand cities.⁶⁷

At the other end of the scale, a major continuity was the weak representation, at least until the turn of the twentieth century, of people from the industrial workforce of northern England. This was an area of strong economic growth in the nineteenth century, with vigorous mining and manufacturing industries. Large cities emerged, including Liverpool, Manchester and Leeds, and rural wages also tended to be higher here than elsewhere. Although there was considerable migration overseas from the area, especially during the periodic slumps in the cotton industry, the major focus of emigration was the United States, where industrial skills were in demand. Moreover, the major port taking ships across the Atlantic was Liverpool, close to where the population was concentrated.

So although people from Lancashire and Yorkshire did come to New Zealand in the nineteenth century, their numbers were about half of their proportion of the English population. Recruiting agents seeking labourers in New Zealand's green and pleasant land did not see the area as a likely source of rural labour. However, nineteenth-century migrants from Lancashire included some highly significant people, such as William Hodgkins, the son of a brushmaker in the Liverpool slums. He came to the Otago goldfields via Melbourne and established himself as a lawyer. He became a highly regarded painter and was the father of Frances Hodgkins. The most famous Lancashire son of all, the premier Richard Seddon, was from St Helens, near Liverpool. He was also attracted to the goldfields (of the West Coast), arriving in 1866 after time in Victoria.

From the turn of the century, however, the numbers of migrants from Lancashire grew both in absolute terms and relative to its population, and by the interwar period the county contributed almost 15 per cent of New Zealand's new migrants from England. Among Lancashire-born twentieth-century migrants were two who made a

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valuable contribution to New Zealand left-wing life: the economist, historian and public servant Bill Sutch, the son of a carpenter and dress-maker, whose family arrived in 1907, and Margaret Thorn, daughter of a Manchester bricklayer, whose family came out in 1912. She became the wife of an MP and a staunch activist for working-class women.⁶⁸ The twentieth-century migrants from Yorkshire included another distinguished mayor of Auckland, Dove-Myer Robinson, whose father had peddled trinkets in Sheffield and became a pawnbroker when the family migrated in 1914.

Not surprisingly, few of these people from Lancashire and Yorkshire came from a farming background – less than 10 per cent of those who arrived in the first half of the twentieth century. There were still quite a few children of pre-industrial craft-workers (about 20 per cent of the migrants from the two counties) as well as people whose fathers had been miners and builders (about 5 per cent of each). But more of them (almost 20 per cent) came from an industrial background or had fathers who had worked in white-collar urban jobs, such as schoolteachers, bank officers or insurance agents (roughly 15 per cent). People with such backgrounds were more like those who would flood into New Zealand after the Second World War.

But that was in the future. The immigrants from England who settled in New Zealand during the great migrations of the nineteenth century were people who were essentially victims of the second industrial revolution. Initially, as capitalism, city life and mechanisation took off at the end of the eighteenth century, rural workers and craftspeople had adjusted to the cash economy. People like builders, wheelwrights, even some domestic spinners and weavers, had found additional markets as cash flowed into rural areas. But from about the 1830s, as rail transport improved and increasing numbers of operations were no longer 'put out' into the community but taken into urban factories, labourers and craftspeople faced declining incomes. Agents from a rural English paradise across the seas who offered the chance of land and self-employment received a welcome hearing. Women for whom domestic crafts were no longer a paying proposition were also attracted by the deliberate attempts to court unmarried women. These people, used to the cash nexus and eager to advance, not the down-and-outs or the factory operatives, formed many of New Zealand's founding English.

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There is one other migrant flow that deserves mention, that from the offshore islands, especially the Channel Islands. Although not strictly part of England, the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands have been included in our figures. The numbers were not great in the 1840s and 1850s, and in absolute numbers they were never a huge part of the migration to New Zealand. But in the last 30 years of the century there was a quite remarkable flow of people to New Zealand from the Channel Islands of Jersey and Guernsey, especially if we look from the perspective of the sending communities. During those years probably about 3500 people (over 4 per cent of the total population) left those small, rocky islands for New Zealand.

Located off the northwest coast of France, and 60 miles south of England, the Channel Islands, like the Isle of Man, were Crown dependencies. Many of their residents spoke a French patois before coming to New Zealand. Most of them, however, did not come direct, for a high proportion of our sample had married in England before migrating. They had already made one journey before embarking on a longer one. Quite a number of the Channel Island settlers were the children of soldiers or seamen, some of whom may have heard about New Zealand from their itinerant fathers. But the majority were from a pre-industrial background, the sons and daughters of blacksmiths, brick-makers and carpenters.

The Channel Islanders in New Zealand included several who made important contributions to public life in the late nineteenth century, such as James Pope, who was an influential inspector of native schools, and James Arnold, a leading Dunedin unionist and MP. The most eccentric, however, was Henry Poingdestre, who came from the Isle of Jersey to Canterbury and set up a homestead and run called Blue Cliffs. There he lined the paths with gin bottles, wore a white top hat and drove a home-made gig hauled by a mule and an old white mare.⁶⁹

Henry Poingdestre was obviously an unusual immigrant. So too was that son of a Yorkshire Jewish pawnbroker Dove-Myer Robinson, whom we have already met. There were many other English eccentrics, such as Hilda Hewlett, daughter of a London vicar, who, under the pseudonym Grace Bird, was a pioneer aviatrix and came out to New Zealand aged 62 in 1926 to escape 'crowds, convention and civilization'.⁷⁰ There was Edward Lofley who arrived from England to fight in

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Emilius Le Roy, a sailor, settled in Auckland from the Channel Islands in the early 1850s. He then summoned a fiancée from Guernsey, Catherine Table, and set up a tent- and sail-making business in Queen Street. He also became Captain-Commandant of a naval volunteers unit, and wore the uniform for this photo in 1889. PRIVATE COLLECTION, MRS LORIS MATHEW

the Waikato War and stayed to become a guide in the thermal districts, where he wore a bush-shirt and kilt and a broad-brimmed hat with a feather sticking out of it.⁷¹ The English have always done eccentrics well, and plenty of such people came to New Zealand because here you had the freedom to be yourself. So not all English immigrants by any measure were 'typical.' But if we do try to define the 'typical English immigrant to New Zealand', then he and she were likely to be the children of rural labourers or craftworkers. They left their village worlds when they saw factories and cities arising, and headed across the oceans for a new country where perhaps they could fulfil older hopes of a bit of land and profitable self-employment.

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FIONA AND JOCK: THE SCOTS

We have learnt so far that the New Zealand settlers from the British Isles were over twice as Scottish as the homeland population. But who were these Scots? Were they a band of whisky-quaffing Highlanders wearing kilts and blowing bagpipes? If not, where did they come from and who were they?

Some answers can be found in Tables 14 and 15, which provide an overview of the geographical origin of the Scots migrants to New Zealand. Once again, Table 15 shows the comparison between the geographic origins of the people in our sample and the distribution of the population at the closest Scottish census. The regions are as in Map 2 (p. ix). Any figure over 100 implies that people from that area were over-represented among the New Zealand immigrants; any figure under 100 suggests the area was under-represented.

TABLE 14. REGIONS OF BIRTH OF SCOTS IMMIGRANTS (PERCENTAGES)

Born in	1840-52	1853-70	1871-90	1891-1915	1916-45
Far North	6.1	5.9	10.8	3.8	5.2
Highlands	10.3	16.0	9.8	8.7	7.1
Northeast	7.0	10.2	10.4	8.7	10.4
East Lowlands	37.1	32.7	27.9	34.3	33.2
West Lowlands	36.2	26.6	33.2	38.3	39.4
Borders	3.3	8.6	7.9	6.3	4.8
Not stated	6	38	47	43	45
Number	213	745	742	469	738

Source: Death registers

TABLE 15. REGIONAL REPRESENTATION INDICES OF SCOTS IMMIGRANTS

Born in	1840-52	1853-70	1871-90	1891-1915	1916-45
Far North	165	151	292	187	226
Highlands	86	136	91	139	101
Northeast	57	77	78	93	90
East Lowlands	109	97	83	99	99
West Lowlands	127	96	112	92	101
Borders	34	90	87	107	74

Sources: Death registers, UK census

The striking fact here is the number of figures around the 100 mark. This suggests that the places of birth of Scots migrants were not greatly

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dissimilar from the distribution of the population in Scotland itself. At least in terms of their regional origins, New Zealand's Scots were a microcosm of the home country. Work by Rosalind McClean also suggests that clustering within counties was not a pronounced feature of Scots migration.⁷²

The second implication is that during the whole period of settlement a clear majority of Scots migrants – about six or seven out of ten – came from the Lowlands, the most urbanised and industrialised areas around Glasgow and Edinburgh. In the 1840s the western Lowlands (close to Glasgow) were well represented. According to McClean's research this was true of the Otago immigrants despite the Edinburgh or east Lowland base of the Otago Association,⁷³ and it was even truer among those who came to Auckland. This was probably a reflection of the continuing impact of the organised migration from Paisley in 1842. Even in the 1850s and 1860s Auckland saw a continuing strong influx from the areas around Glasgow.

The Lowland character of New Zealand's Scots is, as we have suggested, rather contrary to the popular image of Scots immigrants, which associates them with Highland shepherds and the kilts and bagpipes of that part of Scotland. There certainly was a good deal of migration out of the Highlands following the clearances by landlords eager to enclose their land for sheepfarming. But much of this occurred before the substantial migration to New Zealand, and when people left the Highlands they tended to go to the United States or Canada, or more often move within Scotland to the urbanising Lowlands. It may well be that some of those who eventually came to New Zealand were the children of ex-Highland dwellers, but Highlanders themselves they were not likely to be.

The only period when there were substantial numbers from the Highlands (and even then under one in six of Scottish migrants to New Zealand) was during the 1850s and 1860s. There appear to have been quite large numbers who came from the Highlands to the gold rushes, especially to Otago (18.4 per cent of Otago's mining Scots were Highlanders, as were 15.4 per cent of those on the West Coast). This was partly a consequence of a Highland influx into the Victorian gold-fields.⁷⁴ A substantial number of single people also came out from the Highlands under Canterbury's assisted migration scheme. Seventeen

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The most famous and influential Highlands settler was John McKenzie. The formative experience of his life came when at the age of five he saw a group of neighbouring crofters evicted from their lands by the landlord. McKenzie's own father was a tenant farmer in Ross-shire, and he himself grew up as a Gaelic speaker. In 1860, as a newly married 20-year-old, he sailed for Otago. Within five years he had managed to acquire a farm just north of Palmerston. After entering politics McKenzie became Minister of Lands in the Liberal Cabinet between 1891 and 1900, where he was known for measures to get more small farmers onto the land, such as attempts to break up large estates and the extensive purchase of Maori land. I/1-006726-G, ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY

per cent of the single women, most of whom were recruited as domestic servants, came from the Highlands, as did 25.4 per cent of the assisted single males. Many of these men were recruited to work as shepherds on high-country sheep farms. William Grant was the son of a Ross-shire shepherd who came to Lyttelton with his brother and a sheepdog in 1865. Seeing the dog on the wharf, the owner of Orari Gorge station, Charles Tripp, hired the pair immediately as shepherds. It was the beginning of a highly successful career for William, who became a stock-dealer and owner of high-country runs. Robert Mackay, a Sutherland shepherd, came out with his wife Elizabeth in 1863 and worked on Double Hill station on the Rakaia River. Their daughter Jessie, who was born the following year, grew up hearing tales of Scottish history and legends and in later years became a well-known poet.⁷⁵

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TABLE 16. COUNTIES OF BIRTH OF SCOTS IMMIGRANTS (PERCENTAGES)

Region/county	1840-52	1853-70	1871-90	1891-1915	1919-45
Far North					
Caithness	4.2	3.1	1.6	1.2	1.3
Orkney	0.5	0.9	1.2	1.2	0.9
Shetland	1.4	2.0	8.1	1.4	3.0
Highlands					
Argyll	1.9	3.1	1.6	2.1	1.4
Bute	1.9	2.0	1.3	1.6	1.2
Inverness	2.8	4.0	3.6	0.9	2.0
Ross	1.9	4.7	2.4	3.5	2.0
Sutherland	1.9	2.3	0.9	0.5	0.4
Northeast					
Aberdeen	5.6	7.8	8.2	6.8	8.4
Banff	-	0.7	1.2	0.5	1.4
Moray	1.4	1.3	1.0	0.9	0.6
Nairn	-	0.1	0.0	0.5	0.0
East Lowlands					
Angus	5.2	5.4	5.6	7.0	6.6
Clackmannan	0.5	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.3
Dunbarton	1.9	1.4	1.6	2.6	1.7
East Lothian (Haddington)	0.9	0.4	0.1	0.5	0.4
Fife	3.8	4.0	5.0	4.9	6.3
Kincardine	-	0.4	0.9	1.9	0.6
Kinross	-	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.1
Mid Lothian (Edinburgh)	16.9	9.5	8.1	10.6	10.2
Perth	2.8	6.2	2.9	1.9	1.9
Stirling	3.8	3.5	2.4	3.3	2.89
West Lothian (Linlithgow)	1.4	0.7	0.4	1.4	2.02
West Lowlands					
Ayr	8.9	7.9	8.5	4.5	5.9
Lanark	18.8	15.0	20.4	29.3	30.2
Renfrew	8.5	3.4	4.3	4.5	3.3
Borders					
Berwick	1.4	2.0	1.3	1.4	0.3
Dumfries	0.5	2.5	2.4	2.6	1.3
Kirkcudbright	-	0.7	0.1	1.2	0.7
Peebles	-	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.7
Roxburgh	0.9	1.7	1.0	0.7	0.3
Selkirk	-	0.3	0.9	0.0	1.0
Wigtown	0.5	0.7	1.4	0.0	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not stated	6	38	47	43	45
Number	213	745	742	469	738

Source: Death registers

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Two other regional characteristics of the Scots migrants are of interest. The first was the relatively poor representation from the more isolated rural areas of Scotland, especially the northeast and the Border areas. A number of Border shepherds were hired for Wairarapa and Canterbury sheep farms in the 1850s, but this was never a big migration. Distance from the major port of Glasgow may have been a factor for these regions.

The exception to this generalisation was the area designated as the far north, which included the county of Caithness and the offshore islands of Orkney and Shetland. The numbers from these areas were not great in the context of the whole New Zealand inflow (a maximum in the 1871-90 period of 10.6 per cent of the Scots migrants), but they were significant relative to the population of those areas of Scotland. In the 1870s and 1880s the far north was over-represented almost three-fold. Shetland was especially significant. Its bleak northern islands had seen poor harvests, the collapse of the fishing industry, and then clearances during the 1860s and 1870s. The migration seems to have been sparked by some Shetland seamen who noted the attractiveness of New Zealand and spread the word.

The gold mines attracted many Shetlanders: 6 per cent of Otago Scots miners and a remarkable 16 per cent of the Scots who came to the West Coast were from the Shetlands (almost 20 per cent of Scots-born West Coast miners were from the far north). Some came via the Victorian goldfields. Robert Goudie was born in Lerwick and went to Ballarat before reaching Kaniere on the West Coast in 1870. Thirteen years later he married Barbara Coutts, another Shetlander. Other Shetlanders came direct from their homeland, perhaps encouraged by a series of articles in the *Shetland Advertiser* in 1862 that described the gold discoveries. Migration from the area was further encouraged after the Reverend Peter Barclay based himself as an agent in Lerwick in 1873. A Scot who had served a parish in Napier, he focused his recruitment on single women since the female population of the area was said to greatly exceed the male. By September 1874 he had sent 249 migrants to New Zealand.⁷⁶ Death-register figures, however, suggest a reasonably even gender flow from the Shetlands. Many Shetlanders came of their own volition, and they were even better represented among the paying migrants than among the assisted. Chain migration

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The most influential Shetland settler was Robert Stout. Son of a merchant in the capital, Lerwick, Stout became a surveyor and set off for Otago as a 19-year-old in the mass migration of 1863. He became a lawyer, a politician who was premier in the 1880s, and eventually chief justice between 1899 and 1926. Stout was a free thinker in religion, an enthusiast and supporter of university education, an intellectual who relished the cut and thrust of debate, and a consistent supporter of Shetlanders whom he encouraged and helped to migrate to New Zealand.

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and perhaps the prominence of a Shetlander, Robert Stout, as premier and chief justice also helped. Shetlanders comprised over 8 per cent of the Scots who arrived between 1871 and 1890, which was over eight times their representation in the Scots population.

Earlier studies of Scots migration have argued that while most nations drew their emigrants from rural areas, Scotland was unusual in sending many people with an urban and industrial background.⁷⁷ In addition, it has been claimed that there was a pronounced shift from agricultural to industrial workers among emigrants from England and Scotland in the later nineteenth century.⁷⁸ As we have seen, the urban areas of the Lowlands were certainly important sources of migration to New Zealand. However, looking at the occupational background of the Scots (Tables 17 and 18) it can be seen that until the end of the nineteenth century a high proportion, higher than among the English, had fathers who had been involved in agriculture. This may partly reflect families who had moved off the land to centres of urban growth and

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into urban jobs. But where the actual occupations of the immigrants themselves were obtained – as with those assisted by the Canterbury Association in the 1860s or the New Zealand government in the 1870s and 1880s – the numbers of male migrants who professed to be involved in farming were strikingly high among the Scots. Of course, this follows to some considerable extent from the preference for agricultural labourers in those schemes of assistance. Nevertheless, it seems likely that such schemes helped establish the idea that New Zealand, like Australia, was a good place for people from the land to go, whereas the United States was attractive for people with urban skills.

TABLE 17. OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND (FATHER'S OCCUPATION) OF SCOTS IMMIGRANTS AGED 20 AND OVER (PERCENTAGES)

Occupations ⁷⁹	1840–52	Akld 1840–52	1853–70	Akld 1853–70	Otago miners	West Coast miners	1871–90	1891–1915	1916–45	GB census 1851
Agriculture	41.0	25.2	44.0	34.5	47.7	37.0	31.0	26.3	17.3	27.3
Labourers	2.0	0.0	4.0	1.0	3.8	5.5	4.5	5.6	6.1	6.9
Builders	7.0	13.0	8.1	9.1	10.5	4.1	8.1	9.6	9.9	7.4
Miners	0.0	1.6	1.7	2.7	5.5	9.6	2.6	8.8	11.2	5.2
Total pre-industrial	18.0	36.6	30.2	31.4	23.2	26.0	32.8	36.7	40.5	30.2
Total industrial	14.0	12.2	4.5	10.8	5.5	6.8	9.4	12.7	16.5	16.0
White collar	18.0	17.1	9.8	12.2	6.3	5.5	10.5	12.4	9.1	10.5
Other	7.0	9.0	7.4	9.9	13.5	19.2	11.7	6.2	10.5	9.1
Not stated	25	39	89	85	0	102	89	40	49	
Number	125	162	509	381	237	175	470	394	575	

Source: Death registers

TABLE 18. DECLARED OCCUPATIONS OF SCOTS MALE IMMIGRANTS (PERCENTAGES)

Occupations	Scots migrants to Otago 1840–50 ⁸⁰	Canterbury assisted	NZ assisted 1871–88
Agriculture	30.7	73.9	42.9
Labourers	5.6	7.4	13.4
Builders	10.4	9.3	10.9
Miners	0.9	0.7	3.2
Total pre-industrial	33.0	17.2	35.4
Industrial	11.1	0.7	4.3
White collar	18.0	0.5	0.0
Other		0.2	3.9
Not stated		2	0
Number		429	559

Source: Passenger lists

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That New Zealand's Scots came from the Lowlands did not mean they had all moved out of farming. Rosalind McClean's work shows that even those emigrants who lived in urban registration districts included a significant minority who lived in rural areas of those districts.⁸¹ The figures of occupational background for those from both the east and west Lowlands up to 1890 suggest that although there were undoubtedly fewer migrants with a farming background than from other parts of Scotland, until 1870 at least 30 per cent of those from the Lowlands came from farming stock, as did over 20 per cent of this group from 1871 to 1890. This does not contradict the view that most of the immigrants from Scotland lived either close to, or even within, cities, in particular Edinburgh and Glasgow, and that many of them were city workers usually employed, if they were men, in crafts, or if they were women, in domestic service. Indeed, 87 per cent of the assisted single women who came from Scotland in the 1870s were described as domestic servants. If we are looking for immigrants with urban experience behind them, there is no doubt that they are to be found primarily among the Lowland Scots and the Londoners. It is hardly surprising that once people from these two places of origin arrived in New Zealand they tended to gravitate to the cities.

On the other hand, until the twentieth century there were few Scots among these city workers who had come from an industrial background, although on average there were slightly more than among the English migrants. Of those whose fathers were involved in industrial work, not surprisingly, most came from the Lowlands. But the numbers were not great. Throughout the nineteenth century no more than about one in eight from these areas had fathers who were working in industrial pursuits. Nor were these necessarily refugees from smoking factories. A high proportion of the Scots migrants from an 'industrial background' had fathers who had been weavers, many of whom may well have worked at home. Mary Parkinson, who was born in Ayrshire in the west Lowlands, was the daughter of a handloom weaver. She married Thomas Cuddie, a cotton weaver. Their first child was baptised by the Reverend Thomas Burns, who persuaded them to sail with him to Otago on the *Philip Laing* in 1848. Despite the loss of her husband and two sons, Mary eventually bought a successful grocery store in East Taieri, and she died a reasonably wealthy woman.⁸²

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Ann Robertson (née West) was the daughter of a handloom weaver in Perthshire in the eastern Lowlands. She may have worked as a weaver herself, and then as a domestic servant, before she left for the Victorian goldfields. There she married a fellow Scot who brought the family to New Zealand when he enlisted to serve in the New Zealand Wars. Ann successfully ran a boarding house in Tauranga, but when she moved to Rotorua to take over a hotel she became involved in a prolonged legal dispute with another Scots migrant from Glasgow, Robert Graham, which eventually brought her to bankruptcy. However, a government gratuity restored her to comfort and she poured her energies into Rotorua's Presbyterian community. CP 93, ROTORUA MUSEUM

As with the English, there was always a good number of Scots whose fathers had been builders or who were builders themselves, and in total those with a pre-industrial background made up a significant proportion of immigrants, only slightly less than among the English. In addition, there were a striking number of Scots whose fathers had been involved with the sea, either as seamen or fishermen or as shipbuilders. Among the Scots such occupational definitions are hazy and fluid. It seems likely that many of New Zealand's Scots immigrants, especially those from outside the Lowland counties, came from families which had been involved in a number of pursuits. They may well have had a small croft of land, with the father augmenting their income by fishing while

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the mother knitted and wove. That certainly was the pattern for the surprising numbers who hailed from Shetland. Indeed, among those in our sample who came from the Shetlands, four occupations dominated among their fathers: crofters, farmers, fishermen and seamen. Some 20 per cent of the arrivals from Shetland were the children of seamen.

BIDDY AND SEAN: THE IRISH

The Irish who settled New Zealand were rather different from those who came from the other parts of the British Isles. In terms of occupational background they shared the generally low representation of people with an industrial heritage, as can be seen in Tables 19 and 20. This in large part reflected the low level of industrialisation in Ireland. But compared with migrants from Scotland and England, there were few Irish with a background as builders or miners (even among those who came out to join the gold rushes) and comparatively few from a pre-industrial craft background.

TABLE 19. OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND (FATHER'S OCCUPATION) OF IRISH IMMIGRANTS AGED 20 AND OVER (PERCENTAGES)

Occupations	1840-52	Akld 1840-52	1853-70	Akld 1853-70	Otago miners	West Coast miners	1871-90	1891- 1915	1916-45
Agriculture	40.6	46.5	60.1	57.1	75.9	81.0	61.1	60.1	52.5
Labourers	4.7	6.5	6.6	4.9	4.6	5.9	11.9	4.9	5.6
Builders	6.3	6.0	4.4	5.3	3.4	2.1	2.7	3.1	6.8
Miners	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.0	2.3	1.7	0.5	1.2	0.6
Total pre-industrial	25.0	19.4	13.3	16.9	8.0	9.7	13.8	14.1	16.9
Total industrial	7.8	5.5	2.8	3.1	2.7	1.3	1.4	4.3	7.9
White collar	14.1	12.4	12.0	13.1	5.3	1.3	7.3	9.8	10.7
Other	7.8	9.7	5.2	4.8	3.4	0.8	4.6	6.8	6.3
Not stated	35	159	90	152	0	196	118	24	18
Number	99	561	406	602	262	434	488	187	195

Source: Death registers

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TABLE 20. DECLARED OCCUPATIONS OF IRISH MALE IMMIGRANTS (PERCENTAGES)

Occupations	Canterbury assisted	NZ assisted 1871-88
Agriculture	69.7	68.3
Labourers	17.6	22.6
Builders	4.4	2.5
Miners	0.2	0.1
Total pre-industrial	9.8	7.1
Industrial	1.5	0.5
White collar	0.7	0.1
Other	0.7	1.4
Not stated	1	5
Number	410	1119

Source: Passenger lists

The Irish were strikingly agricultural in origin, especially if one also includes those described as labourers, who were most likely to work in agriculture. Among Irish men who came out as assisted migrants in the 1870s and 1880s, over 90 per cent were either labourers or farmers. Among the single women, 87 per cent were described as servants and another 8.3 per cent as dairymaids. The majority of these people would have been from families which had reasonably small plots of land. If the land was divided among the children, such plots were increasingly less able to provide for the standard of living to which they aspired. The more common practice by the 1870s of impartible inheritance – where the entire property was left to one son, usually the eldest – meant the younger children had no means of support. Migration was the obvious response.

On the whole these migrants from rural Ireland were not the poorest of the agricultural community, nor were they refugees from the potato famine that swept across the central and western counties in the late 1840s and early 1850s. We know this for two reasons. First, the number of immigrants from an agricultural background was actually much lower in the period of the famine than later. During these years no more than 45 per cent came off the land. In the 1840s there was a remarkable number of Irish migrants who either had a white-collar background or whose fathers had been soldiers. The former were probably educated people of Anglo-Irish background, while the latter were likely to be second-generation soldiers who had come out with British regiments.

SETTLERS

Some Irish immigrants had fathers who had been weavers, and who would have suffered from the development of factory production.

TABLE 21. REGIONAL ORIGINS OF IRISH IMMIGRANTS (PERCENTAGES)

Born in	1840-52	1853-70	1871-90	1891-1915	1916-45
Connacht	6.3	8.5	6.4	6.8	6.3
Leinster	34.1	19.9	14.9	16.0	12.7
Munster	27.8	31.7	35.2	26.2	19.0
Ulster	31.7	39.8	43.5	51.0	62.0
Not stated	18	45	42	23	15
Number	144	527	748	229	220

Source: Death registers

TABLE 22. REGIONAL REPRESENTATION INDICES OF IRISH IMMIGRANTS

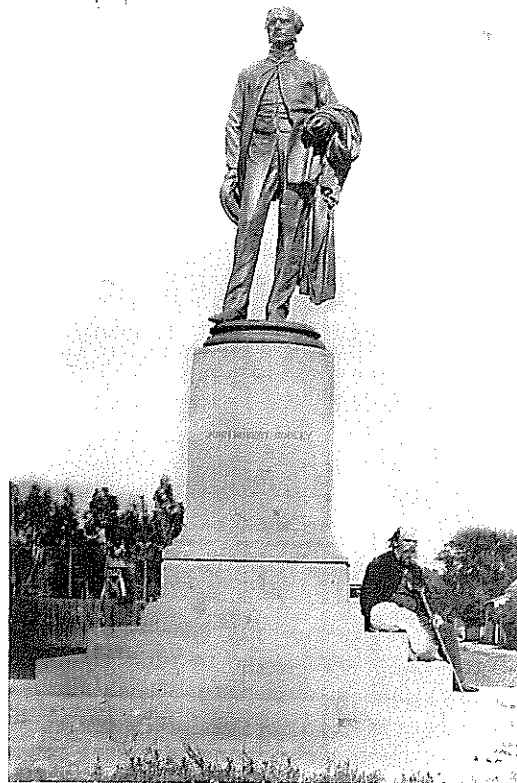
Born in	1840-52	1853-70	1871-90	1891-1915	1916-45
Connacht	37	53	40	45	43
Leinster	141	81	62	65	49
Munster	95	121	136	107	74
Ulster	109	120	127	143	185

Source: Death registers

The second reason we know New Zealand's Irish immigrants were not famine escapees is that the regional breakdowns (as shown in Tables 21 and 22) reveal that in the years of the Great Famine those provinces which suffered most, namely Connacht (the most severely hit) and Munster, were not the regions sending migrants to this country. The provinces are as in Map 3 (p. x). In that period the most significant source of immigrants was Leinster, and particularly the County of Dublin, which was the place of birth of almost 20 per cent of those who came to New Zealand. The explanation for this pattern is the concentration of the Anglo-Irish community in the urban community of Dublin, as well as the fact that the military settlers had commonly been recruited in that area. Interestingly, although the numbers were very small (24), among the migrants from Dublin in our sample for the 1840s not one came from a farming background. Instead civil servants, clergy, gentlemen, lawyers, merchants and soldiers appeared among the fathers' occupations on the death certificates.

It is also revealing that 27 per cent of Irish migrants in those years appear to have been members of the Church of England (or the

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John Robert Godley, born in Dublin and educated at Harrow school and Christ Church Oxford, was one of the more prominent of the Anglo-Irish elite who came to New Zealand in the 1840s and 1850s. As high sheriff of County Leitrim he struggled with the consequences of the potato famine and saw emigration as a possible solution. A meeting with Edward Gibbon Wakefield led Godley to launch the Canterbury Association. He arrived in Canterbury in April 1850, met the 'first four ships', and effectively governed the colony until the establishment of provincial government and his own departure in 1852. This statue was erected in Christchurch, named after his college, in 1867. PACOLL-4508-01, ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY, PHOTOGRAPH BY ALFRED CHARLES BARKER

Church of Ireland as it was known locally). Only 10.7 per cent of the Irish population of 1834 was of that denomination, but the figures were very much higher (well over 20 per cent) for Dublin city and suburbs. The outstanding example of this Anglican Anglo-Irish community was the leader of the Canterbury settlement, John Robert Godley, but there were others. Edward Stafford, although born in Scotland, grew up in the Anglo-Irish environment and attended Trinity College in Dublin, which was the centre of this culture. Leaving Trinity, Stafford went first to Australia and then on to Nelson in 1843. Here he joined his cousins, the Tytlers, who were also part of the Anglo-Irish world. Stafford married the daughter of William Wakefield, became Nelson's first superintendent, and was a dominating figure in the first 20 years of responsible government in New Zealand, serving as premier for a total of nine years.⁸³

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TABLE 23. COUNTIES OF BIRTH OF IRISH IMMIGRANTS (PERCENTAGES)

Region/county	1840-52	1853-70	1871-90	1891-1915	1919-45
Connacht					
Galway	4.0	5.7	3.9	3.4	4.0
Leitrim	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.0	0.5
Mayo	1.6	0.2	0.4	1.9	0.5
Roscommon	-	1.3	1.4	0.5	1.0
Sligo	-	0.4	0.1	1.0	0.5
Leinster					
Carlow	-	2.1	0.6	0.0	0.5
Dublin	19.8	6.9	5.8	6.8	4.5
Kildare	0.8	0.6	0.6	1.0	1.0
Kilkenny	2.4	1.3	1.6	1.5	2.5
King's Country	2.4	2.3	0.9	0.5	0.5
Longford	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.0	0.5
Louth	0.8	-	0.0	0.0	1.0
Meath	-	-	0.4	0.0	0.5
Queen's Country	1.6	0.8	0.4	1.5	-
Westmeath	0.8	1.7	1.7	0.5	0.5
Wexford	2.4	1.5	1.0	2.5	-
Wicklow	1.6	1.9	0.9	2.5	1.5
Munster					
Clare	1.6	7.5	4.1	3.9	3.0
Cork	10.3	6.3	9.0	9.2	8.5
Kerry	-	4.2	11.1	4.4	4.0
Limerick	8.7	4.6	4.9	2.4	2.0
Tipperary	4.8	6.3	3.7	2.9	1.5
Waterford	2.4	2.7	2.9	2.9	0.5
Ulster					
Antrim	5.6	12.6	11.7	21.4	27.5
Armagh	4.8	4.4	4.4	3.4	6.0
Cavan	1.6	2.9	2.7	1.5	1.0
Donegal	2.4	2.5	3.6	1.9	1.5
Down	5.6	6.9	5.7	6.3	9.5
Fermanagh	3.2	2.7	1.1	0.5	0.5
Londonderry	4.8	4.0	5.1	8.7	7.5
Monaghan	0.8	0.6	1.3	1.0	2.0
Tyrone	3.2	3.4	7.7	4.4	5.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not stated	18	50	42	23	19
Number	144	427	748	229	219

Source: Death registers

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From the 1850s, as the number of Irish arrivals grew, the pattern of Irish regional origins began to change. Leinster declined as a significant source of migrants, while the two provinces at opposite ends of the island, Munster in the southwest and Ulster in the northeast, became more important. The Munster migration was particularly sparked by the gold rushes: well over 40 per cent of the Irish who came out as miners to Otago and the West Coast were born in Munster (43 and 41.7 per cent respectively, compared with 31.7 per cent for all New Zealand Irish immigrants in those years and 23.8 per cent of Ireland's population). Many had come to the South Island via Australia, so the counties that were well represented among New Zealand's Irish settlers of the period reflected those that sent large numbers to Victoria – especially Counties Clare, Limerick, Kerry and Tipperary.⁸⁴ Once the miners reached New Zealand, many settled here.

The Sherlock family is an interesting example of this group of settlers. John Sherlock was a Tipperary farmer, married to Maria O'Rourke of County Kildare. They were due to sail for Australia with their family on Christmas Eve 1852. On the previous day John was wounded by a stray bullet fired in a fight in which he had not been involved. Maria decided the family should continue with the journey, but sadly John died en route. She settled in Victoria and her two sons came across to the West Coast goldfields, where they married Irish women from County Fermanagh and County Galway. In 1867, Maria and her other children followed her sons and settled on the West Coast.

This pattern of families, especially women, following their male relatives to New Zealand was strengthened in the 1870s and 1880s when the New Zealand government offered assisted migration to people nominated by relatives. The Munster Catholic community made a major effort to recruit relatives from home, especially from the counties of Kerry and Cork. Seán Brosnahan has described how with government assistance a 'whole section of East Kerry society' was transplanted from County Kerry to Kerrytown in South Canterbury. The process began when Richard Hoare came out to Otago in 1860 as an assisted immigrant. Two years later he nominated his parents and his three siblings, and they brought other Kerry folk, including Patrick Brosnahan and two other Brosnahans. There were further migrations of relatives on assisted passages following nomination in 1865, 1867,

5)

19-45

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219

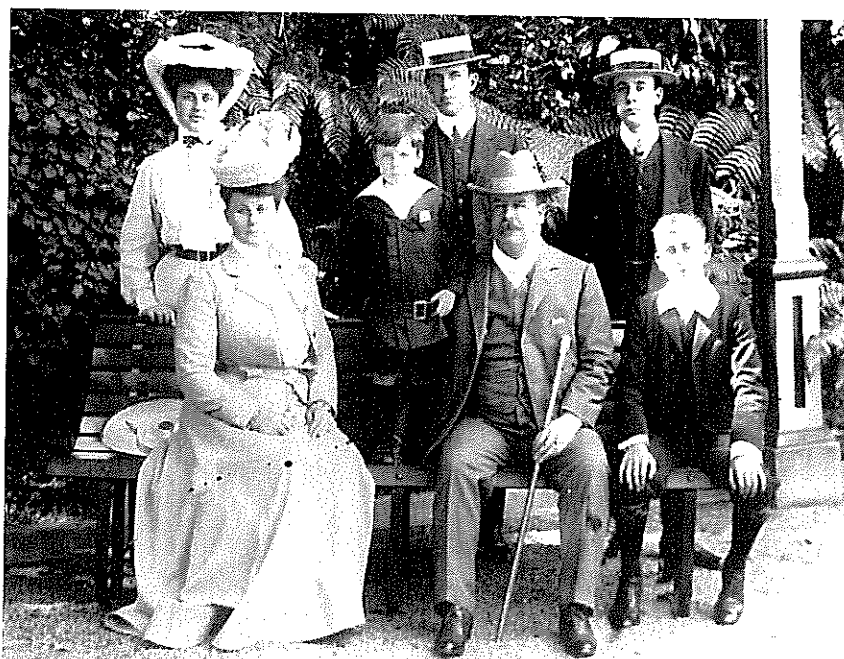
SETTLERS

1870, 1871 and finally in 1874, when Patrick's parents, Hugh and Deborah, falsified their ages in order to qualify for a free passage. The Kerry Brosnahans had completely transferred across the sea and were now the Kerrytown Brosnahans.⁸⁵

There seems to have been a marked increase in Munster immigrants once assisted passages became free in late 1873. The vast majority – almost 90 per cent – of these Munster settlers were Catholic, and consistently over 60 per cent, or almost 75 per cent if we include labourers, were people whose families had been small farmers. Among those people assisted by the New Zealand government between 1871 and 1880 over 42 per cent came from Munster; this compares with its share of the total Irish population in 1871 of 26.6 per cent, and its share of Irish emigration to all destinations of 29 per cent.⁸⁶ Among all Irish immigrants to New Zealand in the period 1871–90 over 35 per cent came from Munster.

The Ulster migration had a rather different source. People in authority in New Zealand began to see the northeast of Ireland as an attractive recruiting ground for the hard-working Protestant types who were regarded as desirable settlers. They saw Ulster as likely to provide hard-working families, and also as a good source of unmarried women who might provide both domestic servants and spouses for New Zealand's men. Among all those assisted by Canterbury province in the 1860s almost 60 per cent of the Irish came from Ulster, and among the men the figure was over 60 per cent. Once the New Zealand government got into the act of providing assisted passages, they too looked to the north of Ireland. In all, 45.4 per cent of the Irish given free passages by the New Zealand government in the 1870s and 1880s had been born in the northern province. The government particularly looked to Ulster to recruit married couples and single women, while the single men were more likely to come from Munster.

The Ulster migrants did not come only as a result of organised recruitment. They were also to be found in numbers among those who made their own way to the goldfields, especially the Otago fields. So there were clearly 'push' factors in this Ulster migration. Ulster was a flax-growing area, and the mechanisation of spinning undermined the livelihood of rural women spinners, while the introduction of power looms replaced the handloom weaving that had been the pursuit



Joseph Ward and his family in 1906. Ward's success in eventually becoming prime minister owed much to his remarkable mother, Hannah Barron. She had been born in Cork, Ireland, to a shopkeeper. She married William Ward, and followed him to Melbourne in 1853. William did not do well, so Hannah supported the family by running a shop and lodging house for miners heading to the diggings. Of her eight sons born there, only Joseph survived. William also died and in 1863, only nine months after a second mysterious marriage to John Barron, Hannah headed for Southland, where in Bluff she again opened a shop for miners. A devout Catholic, she eventually owned a successful hotel, and supported Joseph by lending him money for his first stock and station agency and again when he became bankrupt in 1897. PACOLL-6388-34, ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY

of men. In addition there was a shift from tilling land to maintaining pastures, which further contracted the need for agricultural labour.⁸⁷ So until the twentieth century a consistently high proportion (about 60 per cent) of the Ulster-born migrants to New Zealand came from farming backgrounds, and it was not until the twentieth century that about 10 per cent of people from this area had fathers who had worked in factories or in the shipbuilding industry.

Despite the rural background of so many of the Ulster migrants, the areas that were especially well represented among them were the more

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Marianne Smith (née Caughey) was the daughter of a grocer from Portaferry, County Down. Through her brother, Andrew, she met William Smith, who was working in a Belfast drapery store, and the pair married. In 1880, after William's health deteriorated, the couple decided to follow Andrew to New Zealand. Marianne opened a drapery warehouse in Auckland that was soon so successful she was joined by her husband and brother. Soon after that Smith and Caughey moved to a prime site on Queen Street, and its success and Marianne's wealth were made. She remained active in the firm after her husband's death in 1912 and 20 years later, aged 71, she married a retired Methodist minister, which was consistent with the faith that had always been important in her life. F-220117-1/2, ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY, W. G. CAUGHEY COLLECTION



urban and Protestant counties close to Belfast, namely Antrim, Down and, to a lesser extent, Derry. One immigrant who came from Belfast itself was John McCullough, son of a seamen, an Orangeman and a Presbyterian, who came out to Canterbury in 1880, aged 20. He began a significant career battling for socialism, pacifism and craft unionism which climaxed with his service as the workers' representative on the Court of Arbitration from 1907 to 1921.⁸⁸ Ulster Protestantism also sent out sons of a rather different political stripe. One of these was John Ballance, who became the Liberal premier. The son of an Antrim farmer who also spent time in England (in Birmingham), he originally came out to New Zealand because of the ill-health of his wife.⁸⁹ A second was the long-serving conservative prime minister William Ferguson Massey, whose father had been a farmer at Limavady, County

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Londonderry, before coming to New Zealand in 1869 on the Auckland land grant scheme. William followed a year later, aged fourteen. He later married the daughter of a Scots immigrant family with whom he shared his Presbyterian faith.

Like McCullough, Ballance and Massey, those who came to New Zealand from Ulster were very likely to be Protestant. During the 1870s almost half of the inhabitants of Ulster were Roman Catholic, but less than a quarter of those who migrated to New Zealand from that area appear to have been Catholic. The effect of this was that only 55.9 per cent of Irish immigrants in the 1870s and 1880s were Roman Catholics (to judge from the denomination of the cleric officiating at their deaths).

This is an important finding, because it has long been believed that New Zealand's Irish were overwhelmingly Catholic, as in their homeland. Don Akenson, who pioneered the research into this question, argued that about three-quarters of the New Zealand Irish community was Catholic, which was not much less than in the home population itself.⁹⁰ This appears to have been far from the case. At no point from the 1840s on did the proportion of Catholics in the Irish migrant flow reach 60 per cent, and in certain cases, such as those coming into Auckland in the 1853-70 period, the representation of Catholic Irish was under half. Interestingly, however, the character of the Protestant flow appears to change.

In the early years, reflecting the importance of the Anglo-Irish community, especially around Dublin, adherents of the Church of Ireland were very well represented but the numbers of Presbyterians from the north were low. In 1840-52, for example, 27 per cent of New Zealand's Irish immigrants were from the Anglican Church, but only 9 per cent were Presbyterians, not much more than their proportion in the whole Irish population. By the 1870s and 1880s, as the migrants from Ulster increased and as recruiters targeted the Protestant community of the north, a much larger part of the Protestant flow was Presbyterian. In those years the numbers of Presbyterians and members of the Church of Ireland were about the same (some 19 per cent of the whole), while almost 40 per cent of those arriving from Ulster were of Scots-Irish Presbyterian background. Methodists, too, were significantly over-represented.

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From the 1890s these trends – increasing representation from Ulster and of Protestants – became more pronounced, especially once the Irish Free State was established in 1921. By the turn of the century over half of Ireland's immigrants were from the northern province, with over 20 per cent from County Antrim alone, and in the period between the wars the Ulster proportion was over 60 per cent. By then only a third of Irish immigrants were Roman Catholic, with almost the same number being Presbyterian. Although they were from the more urban north, a high proportion of these migrants continued to come from farming backgrounds: 60 per cent of those migrating to New Zealand from Ireland during the interwar years had fathers who were farmers, compared with only 11.8 per cent for the English/Welsh and 15.2 per cent for the Scots.

New Zealanders tend to think of their Irish heritage in terms of republicanism, St Patrick's Day and Catholicism, yet almost as important is the heritage from the Protestant community of the north, especially the Scots-Irish Presbyterians clustered in the area around Belfast. In some ways these are New Zealand's least visible immigrants. This is despite the fact that the only organised community of Irish settlers, those who came to Katikati in the 1870s and early 1880s, came from Ulster, not to mention those two famous prime ministers, John Ballance and Bill Massey.⁹¹

KITH AND KIN

If we are to understand the long-term impact of migration we must also work out whether the migrants came alone or in larger groupings, especially families. Families are the vehicles of culture. They teach children traditions, and their members reinforce each others' accents, religious faiths, ways of doing things. In general, the greater the number of people who migrate as individuals the quicker they will lose their home values. This is especially the case if there is an unbalanced migration of more men than women, which deprives men of the opportunity of getting married in the new world. As numerous nineteenth-century social thinkers argued, single men, not tied down by family responsibilities and emotional connections, tended to be a footloose and somewhat

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unstable crowd. They were attracted to the itinerant character of much early frontier employment, and they developed a loose 'uncivilised' set of social behaviours, from frequenting hotels to gambling.⁹²

Certainly Edward Gibbon Wakefield was highly aware of this issue. His scheme of organised settlements was designed to ensure a new world that would be a 'civilised' family utopia. New Zealand opinion-makers continued to be anxious about the surplus of men, and the targeted incentives to migrate offered to women and married couples by the New Zealand Company and provincial and central governments were designed in part to prevent this. In the New Zealand census the gender ratio was among the first questions to be explored.⁹³ The early censuses certainly did suggest that more men than women migrated to New Zealand. In 1864, for example, the census showed that 61.9 per cent of the European population was male; only 38.1 per cent was female. Our exploration of the death registers confirms this pattern.

TABLE 24. GENDER RATIO (NUMBER OF MALES PER 100 FEMALES) OF IMMIGRANTS FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM TO NEW ZEALAND

	English/Welsh	Scots	Irish	All
1840-52	151.4	143.3	113.4	143.9
1853-70	158.6	136.5	140.6	147.6
1871-90	115.7	119.5	91.3	110.6
1891-1915	146.2	138.1	182.7	147.8
1916-45	104.7	110.3	165.8	110.0

Source: Death registers

TABLE 25. GENDER RATIO (NUMBER OF MALES PER 100 FEMALES) OF IMMIGRANTS FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM TO NEW ZEALAND, AGED 20 AND OVER

	English/Welsh	Scots	Irish	All
1840-52	174.6	184.1	108.5	162.9
1853-70	181.2	150.7	161.9	166.7
1871-90	126.0	136.7	103.3	122.6
1891-1915	143.2	125.1	181.8	142.5
1916-45	95.6	102.5	162.0	103.3

Source: Death registers

Table 24 shows the gender ratio of all immigrants to New Zealand between 1840 and 1945, expressed as the number of males for every 100 females. Thus we learn that between 1840 and 1870 there were over

SETTLERS

140 males for every 100 females among those arriving. (In the small sample of those arriving before 1840 the ratio was even higher – 200 males for every 100 females.) Table 25 excludes children, who were likely to comprise a group balanced between boys and girls. Between 1840 and 1870 the ratio of incoming adults was over 160; there were eight men for every five women.

Many of the findings shown in these tables are to be expected. The relatively high gender ratio of the 1850s and 1860s is unsurprising, since this was the period in which the goldminers came flooding into New Zealand along with soldiers. Rather surprising, however, is the comparatively high gender ratio of the 1840s, since much of the migration during this period was under the auspices of the New Zealand Company, which set out to attract families.

We get a partial explanation for this when we break the flows down by year. In the years of high organised company migration, the early and late 1840s, there was certainly a balanced representation of men and women. But in the middle years of the decade, when soldiers came to New Zealand, there was a considerable imbalance. Also of some interest is the fact that the flow into Auckland during the years 1840–52 (with a gender ratio of 122.7) was in fact more evenly balanced than that into New Zealand as a whole. This can be explained by the effects of two particular migration streams: the Paisley settlers who came in as family groups in 1842; and the Fencibles, the group of ex-soldiers who came to Auckland in 1847 accompanied by women and children. Since they comprised about a third of Auckland's newcomers in these years, the Fencibles clearly had a major impact on the gender ratio there.

There were of course some single women who came with the Fencibles, such as Sophia Bates, whose father was a corporal in the 2nd Foot Regiment. At the age of 30, and unmarried, Sophia accompanied her parents to Auckland in 1847. The family settled at the Fencible settlement at Onehunga, where Sophia was appointed New Zealand's first postmistress in 1849. She also taught in the local Anglican parish school.⁹⁴

A second route into the issue of the unbalanced gender ratio of the 1840s is to look at the rates of marriage among the newcomers. A balanced gender ratio can either be caused by a large number of married people and their children entering the country, or by an even number

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TABLE 25
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1853–70
1871–90
1891–1915
1916–45

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of single men and women. Arguably the social consequences will differ, since married couples are likely to be more protective of their culture than unmarried adults of either sex. Table 26 shows the percentages of immigrants from each part of the United Kingdom who were married on arrival.

TABLE 26. PERCENTAGE OF UNITED KINGDOM IMMIGRANTS AGED 20 OR OVER WHO WERE MARRIED ON ARRIVAL IN NEW ZEALAND

	English/ Welsh males	English/ Welsh females	Scots males	Scots females	Irish males	Irish females	All males	All females	All
1840-52	50.0	83.2	53.1	72.7	53.8	80.9	51.2	80.7	62.4
1853-70	45.4	71.4	38.2	55.7	32.7	49.0	40.3	60.9	48.0
1871-90	53.1	74.6	42.6	66.8	35.5	50.8	47.0	67.1	56.0
1891-1915	45.5	64.9	47.0	61.1	37.8	56.1	44.9	63.1	52.4
1916-45	57.2	67.3	53.3	60.2	33.6	45.1	53.4	63.9	58.5

Source: Death registers

We can now see that the comparatively high gender ratio of the 1840s hides the fact that more than three in every five adults entering New Zealand was married. The total gender imbalance was largely the result of the fact that among the single people, the other 37.6 per cent, there was a much greater number of men than women. Very few single women came in during those years. Indeed, more than 80 per cent of adult women were arriving as wives. Furthermore, it seems likely that many of those single women arrived as part of family groups. They were sisters or aunts or, like Sophia Bates, unmarried daughters. Certainly letters to the New Zealand Company confirmed that many people would only come to New Zealand with relatives. One person requested a copy of the company regulations 'as I have some relatives that are going out to New Zealand and I am desirous to go with them'.⁹⁵ The Thomas family refused their embarkation orders unless their brother was accepted,⁹⁶ and we have already mentioned the Julian family, who came out with the Plymouth Company and had fifteen in their party of parents, children, in-laws and grandchildren.

Among the New Zealand Company migrants over 87 per cent came as part of a family - 10.4 per cent were couples, 62.8 per cent were parents and children, 2.5 per cent were grandparents, and 11.4 per cent were siblings. Over 4 per cent came with neighbours from the same

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These stern-looking ancestors are Elizabeth and Samuel Joll, who left Cornwall in 1841 as a result of the economic depression there and an older brother's authoritarianism. They came out to New Plymouth on the *Timandra* as Plymouth Company migrants. Like many of the 1840s settlers they brought a considerable family – in their case five children. During the 113-day voyage five children on the ship died of illness and five babies were born.

PRIVATE COLLECTION

street. Under 10 per cent came apparently alone. The unwillingness of single women to come by themselves is understandable. In British culture family connections were always of great significance to women, and there is clear evidence that even when families came the women found the parting harder than the men. To go out to a new country where there was no family to greet you must have been a very tough experience. Little wonder tears were shed so often as the boats left England's shores.

In the 1850s and 1860s the situation changed. As already noted, the highly male communities of goldminers and soldiers flooded into the country and the gender ratio rose. For the whole period only two in every five adult men were married on arrival. Of those coming from Victoria to join the mining communities of Otago (1861–64) and the

West Coast (1865-70) over 87 per cent were male, and about nine in every ten of these men were unmarried.⁹⁷ Nor did those who were married necessarily bring their wives with them. Among the miners it was a common pattern for the men to come first. Once they had established a base or achieved some economic success they would invite their wives and children to join them. Andrew McKenzie, who was from the Highlands of Scotland, migrated with his wife to the early Victorian goldfields. Then in 1862 he came over to the Tuapeka fields, and several months later his wife and three children followed.

Interestingly, whereas in 1865 92.6 per cent of those of both genders coming from Victoria to the West Coast were single, by 1868 and 1869 over 20 per cent were married people arriving without their spouse; many of these were women coming to join their husbands. Nor was it only single men coming into New Zealand in the 1860s. There was also a change among the women. Almost two in every five of the women were unmarried, twice the proportion in the 1840s. This was partly because the provinces deliberately set out to attract single women as domestic servants and to help counteract the surplus of men, and partly because the journey became slightly less intimidating for women, who were now more likely to have relatives to meet them at the wharf and give them support. Once again we should note that being single on arrival did not necessarily mean the immigrant had no relatives in New Zealand.

The comparatively low gender ratio of the 1870s and early 1880s is to be expected, since it followed partly from the deliberate effort by the New Zealand government to attract family immigrants, and also from the incentives offered to single women. Once assistance ended in the mid-1880s, the gender ratio increased again. In the years when there was no assistance, from 1891 to 1904, the ratio was a high 172.7. Once assisted migration returned, in the years 1905 to 1915, with a deliberate policy of attracting families and women, the ratio dropped to 137.9. The fact that it was still so high was largely a reflection of the large numbers of single men who came across the Tasman in the first decade of the twentieth century. By the interwar years, the gender ratio of immigrants was almost even. Schemes of assisted migration were now attracting young families, and the days of the frontier calling miners, whalers or bushmen to New Zealand were long gone.

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This postcard was issued by the New Zealand High Commissioner's Office in London about 1913 as part of an advertising campaign to attract single women as domestic servants to New Zealand. CHRISTCHURCH CITY LIBRARIES, NEG 1063

There are also some interesting findings when we examine the gender ratios by country of origin. Until the end of the nineteenth century the English appeared to be more male-dominated than the migration flow as a whole. This was not because there were unusually large numbers of single English men. In fact the English were most likely to arrive married. Rather it was because comparatively few unmarried English women were recruited for domestic service. The recruiting grounds for servant women were in Scotland and, increasingly, Ireland. As the provinces sent agents into Scotland to attract domestic servants the numbers of single Scots women rose, before moving closer to the English pattern from the 1870s.

The most interesting story was that of the Irish. During the 1840s there were almost as many Irish women as men coming into New Zealand, and four-fifths of them were married on arrival. This was

probably a reflection of their high representation among the Fencibles. But all this changed dramatically in the 1850s and 1860s when the Irish gender ratio became more unbalanced as single men crossed the Tasman in droves to the goldfields. The ratio would have been worse had these years not also seen the arrival of many single Irish women, under half of whom were now married. Provincial governments, especially Canterbury, had discovered Ireland as a source of servants.

Things changed again in the 1870s, when the Irish became by far the most balanced of the national groups – in fact, among all age groups there was actually a surplus of Irish women. There were two reasons for this. One was that Ireland was exceptional among European countries in sending high numbers of women to all overseas destinations during these years. The other reason was the deliberate recruitment of single women and married couples by the New Zealand government, especially from Ulster. One of those who arrived in the late 1870s was Aileen Douglas, the daughter of a miller from County Cavan. She worked as a domestic servant before marrying Frederick Garmson, who had arrived from Australia. Remarkably, she became the secretary of the Christchurch shearers' union, a pre-eminently male organisation. She was also active in support of the rights of working women, although a newspaper once described her as 'the terror of all the women of Christchurch'. Unusually for the times, Aileen Garmson was divorced twice.⁹⁸ Not all the single women who came from Ireland in those years were quite such feisty characters.

The passenger lists also show that single Irish men came out in the 1870s, especially from Munster, and presumably including a number who had been nominated. Thereafter, as the number of migrants from Ireland declined, those who did come tended to be men, so that in the twentieth century the Irish arrivals were significantly more masculine than any other national groups. The relatively low level of marriage among Irish immigrants after the 1850s does have some significance. It meant Irish women were more likely to end up marrying non-Irish men, which implies an obvious difference in preserving individual cultures when compared with English migrants arriving as husband and wife.

The distinctiveness of the Irish family pattern is made more evident by our figures on place of marriage. Consistently the Irish were far

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'The Buller Lion', Eugene O'Connor was typical of many Irish immigrants of the 1860s in voyaging out to Victoria as a young man, marrying there, and then coming across the Tasman in his early thirties to the Otago goldfields. He eventually moved to Westport and represented Buller in the House of Representatives for 13 years.

In the mid 1870s he was also responsible for a special settlement for immigrants at Karama. Many settlers, however, finding the land swampy and poor, walked off, although O'Connor maintained to the end that it was a success.

35MM-00099-E; F, ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY



more likely to have been married outside their homeland than other national groups. Almost 40 per cent of the married Irish immigrants between 1853 and 1870 had been wed outside Ireland, 28 per cent in Australia and 10 per cent in England. Even in the years between the wars almost a third of the Irish had been married in England or Scotland. These figures were far higher than for any of the other national groups, among whom well over 80 per cent were married in their homeland (the only exception to this was the pre-1840 period when, because so many of the migrants came from Australia, a quarter of the married UK-born immigrants had wed in Australia).

The Irish pattern suggests the distinctive itineraries the Irish followed in coming to New Zealand. During the gold-rush years a large number came to New Zealand after some years in Australia. It was hardly surprising that some got married along the way. Of the Irish

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husbands who came to the Otago fields, no fewer than 63 per cent had been married in Australia and only 31.5 per cent brought their wives all the way from Ireland. Of those coming to the West Coast, the numbers who had married in Ireland and Australia were about the same, but interestingly, over 7 per cent had married in Scotland. One of these was James Sharkey, who had been born in County Leitrim in 1831. By the age of 23 he was working as a blacksmith in Glasgow, where he married Catherine O'Hare, who herself had come over from County Down. In 1856 the family, which now included two children, set sail for Melbourne and joined the Victorian gold rushes. In 1863, with three more children, they came out to Dunedin in pursuit of gold, then went on to the West Coast, where James took up his old trade as a blacksmith at Ross.

Later in the nineteenth century this journey via Scotland, or England, became more common. The move across the Irish Sea was the first leg in the migration journey. The Irish pattern also reflects the stage at which people decided to leave their homelands. One of the distinctive elements of Irish emigration was that many Irish left to go overseas as young single people. They often moved in stages, first perhaps to Liverpool or Glasgow, then to Sydney, and only eventually to Auckland. By contrast, those who came from England especially were more likely to be family groups who got on the boat at London having made a single decision to uproot themselves and move to New Zealand.

A third important characteristic that is worth examining is age of arrival. We have to be careful here. Our evidence is derived from the year of arrival as recorded on the death certificates, from which we subtract the stated date of birth. Clearly there is considerable room for error on both counts. More significantly, the date of arrival was only recorded on death certificates from 1876. Any person who arrived in New Zealand and died before that date is not included in the figures, and that is more likely to be true of older people than younger. Thus the figures for the first two periods we have studied, and especially the years 1840-52, will tend to exaggerate the youthfulness of the immigrant flow. After 1876 our figures are reliable across all ages, and obviously they are rather more reliable for the 1860s and 1870s than for the 1840s. Despite these caveats, much can be learned from these figures, which are shown in Tables 27-29.

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TABLE 27. PERCENTAGE OF IMMIGRANTS FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM BY AGE GROUP ON ARRIVAL IN NEW ZEALAND

Ages	1840-52	1853-70	1871-90	1891-1915	1916-45
0-14	32.2	18.8	24.8	11.1	10.5
15-24	25.3	34.0	29.3	26.3	22.5
25-34	26.3	28.7	25.4	33.8	32.2
35-44	12.7	12.5	12.7	17.6	19.7
45+	3.5	6.1	7.8	11.2	15.1
Average	21.6	24.6	24.1	29.0	30.6
Number	1057	2462	3446	2109	2568

Source: Death registers

TABLE 28. PERCENTAGE OF MALE IMMIGRANTS FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM BY AGE GROUP ON ARRIVAL IN NEW ZEALAND

Ages	1840-52	1853-70	1871-90	1891-1915	1916-45
0-14	28.7	16.3	23.0	10.9	11.5
15-24	28.1	33.2	29.4	30.4	24.9
25-34	27.4	31.3	26.9	31.0	31.6
35-44	12.2	13.4	12.8	17.6	18.7
45+	3.5	5.9	8.0	10.1	13.4
Average	22.1	25.3	24.6	28.3	29.7
Number	624	1468	1810	1255	1361

Source: Death registers

TABLE 29. PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE IMMIGRANTS FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM BY AGE GROUP ON ARRIVAL IN NEW ZEALAND

Ages	1840-52	1853-70	1871-90	1891-1915	1916-45
0-14	37.4	22.5	26.8	11.4	9.4
15-24	21.0	35.2	29.1	20.3	19.7
25-34	24.7	24.9	23.8	38.0	33.0
35-44	13.4	11.3	12.7	17.5	20.8
45+	3.5	6.1	7.6	12.0	17.1
Average	20.9	23.5	23.5	30.0	31.6
Number	433	993	1636	854	1207

Source: Death registers

The first point to note is the striking change in the proportion of immigrants who arrived in New Zealand as children. According to our figures almost a third of those coming in the 1840s were aged under fifteen, although as explained, the accuracy of this figure might be questioned. However, when we look at the migrants assisted by the New Zealand Company (for which we have comprehensive records) their

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youthfulness is even more pronounced. Among those who came from England and Wales, 46 per cent were under fifteen, 68 per cent were under 25, and over 80 per cent were under 30.⁹⁹ Of course the company only provided assistance for those under 40, and some undoubtedly falsified their ages to obtain that support, but there can be no doubt that the migrants of the 1840s were a remarkably youthful lot.

Using the figures derived from the death register sample, if we look at those aged under 25 (who will be least affected by the 1876 distortion), we find that significantly more of the 1840-52 group were children than were young adults. Many families came out with small children - exactly the kind of people the Wakefield colonisers set out to attract. In the 1850s and 1860s the reverse was the case, with more young adults than children. This reflects the increased flow of single men as soldiers and miners, and single women as domestic servants. In the 1870s the proportion of young children rose once again as the family-centred assisted migration took effect. From that point on, with our figures now reliably accurate, we see a striking decline in the proportions of young children coming to New Zealand. In the 1871-90 period about a quarter of the migrants were children; by the 1920s only one in ten were under fifteen. In large part this was a consequence of the demographic revolution in the home countries. Between 1871 and 1926 the number of children born each year per 1000 English women aged 15-44 fell from 152.1 to 71.9. It was not surprising that this was reflected in the changing age range of New Zealand's immigrants.

On the other hand, as we enter the twentieth century there is a growing number of older people arriving in New Zealand. In the 1870s and 1880s about one in five immigrants were aged 35 or over, but by the interwar years well over one-third were in this age group. Catherine Stewart, who was 40 when she arrived, had been a weaver in Glasgow, married an iron-fitter, and become a feminist. Then in 1921 Catherine and her husband came to Wellington, where she became active in the cooperative movement, and in 1938 she was elected as the sole woman in Parliament. A supporter of John A. Lee, she lost her seat in 1943 and seven years later, at the age of 69, she returned to Glasgow with her sons.¹⁰⁰

Catherine Stewart and her husband were not the only married couple who migrated in their forties during the interwar years. The

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Fred and Nancy Bettjeman. Nancy was one of many women in their thirties or older who came to New Zealand after the First World War. Originally from Glasgow, she had met Fred when she nursed him at a hospital in Surrey. He had been injured at Gallipoli. After the war she came out to join Fred, but faced the ordeal of carving out a home in an isolated soldiers' settlement block in the Mangapuna Valley. After a long struggle Fred and Nancy were forced to abandon the farm, and Nancy left as she had arrived – by horse. 1/2-190366; F, ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY, BETTJEMAN FAMILY COLLECTION (PACOLL-3739)

average age of New Zealand's immigrants rose from under 25 to over 30. Such a change has some consequences for the impact of immigration. Those who arrive young are more likely to adapt quickly to the new society. They lose their accents and their ways of doing things. The relative youthfulness of New Zealand's nineteenth-century migrants must have had an effect in this way. In contrast, the large representation of older migrants in the twentieth century helped perpetuate links with the Old World.

When we examine these changes by gender (Tables 28 and 29), we see that the transformation was most acute among females. In the first three periods there was a significantly higher proportion of women immigrants than men under the age of 25. By the twentieth century,

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however, the situation had reversed and women were considerably more likely than men to be found among those 35 or over. In 1916-45 a total of 37.6 per cent of women were in that age group, but only 32.5 per cent of men. At least some of these were grandparents who came out with their married children during the 1920s.

TABLE 30. AVERAGE AGE OF IMMIGRANTS FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM ON ARRIVAL IN NEW ZEALAND

	English/ Welsh males	English/ Welsh females	Scots males	Scots females	Irish males	Irish females	All males	All females	All
1840-52	21.0	20.4	23.4	19.2	25.9	24.9	22.1	20.9	21.6
1853-70	24.9	23.0	25.0	23.8	26.7	23.7	25.3	23.5	24.6
1871-90	24.1	23.1	24.6	24.4	26.2	23.7	24.6	23.5	24.1
1891-1915	27.9	29.4	29.2	31.5	29.0	29.7	28.3	30.0	29.0
1916-45	30.0	32.0	29.0	30.6	29.7	31.8	29.7	31.6	30.6

Source: Death registers

Table 30 shows the average age of arrival, grouped by gender and country of origin. The most striking feature is once more the peculiarity of the Irish. Throughout the nineteenth century Irish males appear on average to have been significantly older on arrival than those of other national groups. This is partly a consequence of the fact, already noted, that they were less likely to be married and therefore there were fewer accompanying young children to bring down the average age. But it also follows from their distinctive pattern of migration. Because Irish men often spent time in England or Australia before they came to New Zealand, they were more likely to be rather older and more experienced than other immigrants. By the twentieth century this age differential has disappeared.

So far we have analysed New Zealand's settlers by ethnicity, region, occupation, religion, family status and age. What emerges is a picture of some quite distinct, but highly varied, flows. England was the largest source of New Zealand's immigrants. The English were largely Protestant, with a strong Methodist influence; they arrived early and came in families, and until the end of the nineteenth century they tended to come overwhelmingly from the south of England, with

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people from a small-town or village background well-represented. Certain areas, such as Cornwall, Kent and the metropolis of London, were especially common places of origin.

The percentage of Scots in the migration flows was over twice the percentage in the total population of the UK. They were to be found in nearly every migratory stream except the military. They too were Protestant, and despite a strong Lowland representation they, like the English, often had family backgrounds as farmers or craft workers. Rather more Scots came as young single adults, especially as miners or servants. Although they were born in all parts of Scotland, New Zealand's Scots included at least one strong regional flow – the influx from Shetland.

As for the Irish, we can see several quite distinct groups. They were divided between largely Protestant Ulster folk, whose numbers became more significant as time wore on, and Catholic people from the south-west of Ireland. Many Irish, especially the Munster people, came across from Australia at an older age. Many arrived in family groups, and by nominating other family members they reinforced these linkages once in New Zealand. But the Irish also included single men, such as miners or labourers, and female domestic servants, especially after the 1850s from the areas around Belfast.

Now that we know our settlers, two big questions remain. The first is, do we simply conclude that the settlers had diverse origins, values and cultures, or are there some larger generalisations that can be made? And second, what happened when these people got to New Zealand? How did these different cultures play out in fashioning a new society? We look at these questions in the following chapter.